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COMING WORLD CHANGES

What America Faces—An Opportunity For Her University Men

By SIR AUCKLAND CAMPBELL GEDDES
[*British Ambassador to the United States*]

BEFORE the war, vast new forces were visibly moving in Europe. A great expansion of the existing population of Europe had been produced in the hundred years following the industrial revolution and the expansion was not ended. During that time what was good from the economic point of view, what led to increased wealth and with increased wealth increased population, was regarded as wholly good by a majority in most of the countries in Europe. Now the search for economic good is becoming more and more blended with a search for direct social good.

Your problem, the problem of America in the first half of the last century, was of course quite different from that of Europe. In the second half it gradually changed its complexion until at the end of the first decade of this century some of your social problems were following the track of some of the European problems. As this century opened, we had in Europe an order that was obviously nearing its end. That order, that social organization, was built upon the economic fact that there were in North America, either

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in your territory or in the territory of Canada, large areas of land capable of producing food, either in the form of wheat or in the form of meat, and that food was not wanted for consumption in North America, but was available for easy transport to Europe. As this century opened your increasing industrial development had produced here a vast increase of population which was beginning to intercept that food, and, believe me, I have gone into this thing fairly carefully. I think that it is not very difficult to show that the development of your population here was the principal cause of the fear that made the European War inevitable. Germany in her view was being forced into a position with rising food costs—look at the change in the price of wheat in the first ten years of this century—Germany was being forced into a position in which she almost had to fight. And the causes? Increase of population here and there—internal, intimate, legitimate national developments.

And now this year you are going to have a comparatively small surplus of food for export produced within your territory. That, too, will have effects far outside your borders.

A NEW SET OF SOCIAL VALUES

WITH the economic changes that affect the world there comes another change, much further advanced in Europe than it is here, so far as I have been able to judge. We have got a completely new set of social values coming to be the guides of the young people as they develop. The young men who fought and the young women who served in the great War do not think as their fathers and mothers thought.

Again, the great accumulations of wealth are, I think, more or less obviously nearing the end of their making, the individually possessed accumulations. The period of the great raids, if one may use that phrase without offence where none is intended, upon the resources of nature is drawing to its close all the world over. It is not ended, but we are past the top and we have begun to come down the other side. At least I think so. At all events ambitions in connection with them are different.

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Let us look facts pleasant or unpleasant in the face. We have got in Europe now millions of people who are at this stage—millions of working people who say to themselves: What is life worth that at the end leaves us with nothing achieved except having avoided being starved to death and having produced children who will follow in our path? That is the great problem that is worrying the minds of millions in Europe. I meet it in England; I meet it in Scotland; I have met it in France; it is met in Italy, I am told. I have not been there myself since the war. I am told that it is strongest perhaps in Germany, but I can't judge. At all events, this problem is with us and it is a problem which is worrying—worrying the minds of peoples the very foundations of whose economic existence have been knocked about and shaken partly by the growth of your population, partly by their own, partly by the appalling losses of life and treasure during the war. The stage is surely set for these great changes.

GREAT SOCIAL CHANGES AT HAND

IN what direction the goal will be found it is not easy to say. It would be rash to attempt to prophesy. But we can say this, that all the indications point to a period of great social change in Europe and in Asia Minor, and I think throughout the whole of Asia. World changes are not going to leave you untouched. An American has said, and said truly, that the directing principle in American foreign affairs must be American interest. But you have got people here who will respond to movements originating among their kith and kin three or four thousand miles away. In a time of social change like this you cannot escape some of the difficulties; perhaps you will with difficulty escape some of the dangers.

We, the British people, will escape neither the difficulties nor the dangers of the social changes. We know that, and we know that everything is going to depend upon the honesty, character and the strength of the national leadership, and we believe that university men, because of their possessing trained minds, are the men who must in the main

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provide that leadership. We realize that from every part of the world we must draw information as to what is going on, as to what experience is teaching, as to what directions movements are being made in. We want to be allowed to keep in touch with the university men in all countries of the world, more especially in yours, because of your history, because of the fact that nearly a hundred and fifty years ago at the back of your modern institutions there was placed a body of law and of customs which is the same body of law and customs which lies at the back of our modern institutions.

CONTINUED ANGLO-SAXON CO-OPERATION NECESSARY

WE believe that if we are to prevent the great social changes which are inevitably, I believe, going to take place in Europe from boiling up once more into international disturbances, it is necessary that we should have the closest understanding of each other nation's ideas, ideals, and difficulties. There is no doubt that the greatest calamity which could fall upon the world would be that there should be some rift between the English-speaking peoples. If that great calamity were to fall upon us, he would be a bold man who should predict that there would be any civilization left at its end.

I therefore say to you, and ask you to believe that I say it in all sincerity, that I believe that the future of the world really depends upon the free interchange of thought between us and of frank understanding of the American university man's point of view by the British university man, because if the university men of the countries get together they can provide a thought leadership for the countries. Thought is the moulder of policies.

For this reason I regard this opportunity of addressing you as a very high privilege. I hope that what I have said about my belief as to coming social changes in the world will not appear pessimistic—I am far from pessimistic. I believe that before the war we were running up in Europe against a really bad situation, and though the war was a terrible tragedy in which as yet one can see no good, I be-

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lieve that war was really inevitable because of the position in which Europe found itself as a result of lack of economic and social understanding and of international co-operation in the course of the last century. I believe that out of the turmoil, this seething and bubbling of new thoughts and new ideas, we may get something a little more sane, a little nobler perhaps, in our civilization, and I do hope that the American university men will try to understand the difficulties which face Europe and that they will be able to guide the thought of this great country with regard to Europe's doings during the years which lie ahead, for the guiding of that thought will, I feel quite sure, require much understanding and not a little patience and sympathy.

GHOSTS OF THE PAST

By BEATRICE B. BOXTALLER

FROM memory's guarded shrine they steal,
And with accusing finger
Point us back o'er life's alluring way,
To mock us for the things that might have been.

For, proud and blind, with selfish aim possessed,
We, in mortal wisdom, thought
Ourselves to shape those destinies
Which make of life a thing to be endured.

Longing eyes and hearts that beat with pain
Re-call not days gone by;
Nor give us that—a love, perchance—too late
Revealed as gem we knew not how to prize.

Ghosts of the past, that haunt our waking hours,
Depart! and leave us, thus, in peace,
By neither vain regret beset,
Our shattered heritage of that which is.

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LABOR'S POLITICAL DRIVE

The Workingman Organized As Never Before

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT

[*Of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.*]

THE American Federation of Labor is in politics to win.

The fight was opened in June. Labor started on the march with a proclamation of its intention to go out and win. It is now in the whirl of the big struggle in full strength.

The American Federation of Labor has been in politics before. It has never been in so thoroughly and so unreservedly as now.

There are reasons for this. They are found in facts and figures which are to be had in bales, bundles and fancy packages at the big building in Washington, D. C., where the Federation has its headquarters.

First a fact or two:

Labor has never felt itself so aggrieved as today. It looks upon the Sixty-sixth Congress as the supreme backslider. It believes no other Congress has gone deeper into the depths of infamy. It writes the word "bad" all over the national legislative assembly and refers doubters to the records. Whatever you may think of the record from your own point of view, the Federation, from its point of view, has a big bill of grievances and a serious indictment.

Labor likewise sees an industrial world encouraged in waywardness by the trend of the political world and it believes that it must go as the politicians direct to straighten out some of the tangles of industry. What this means is that labor sees industrial magnates constantly encouraged to combat unionism by a Congress that puts its trust in such

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measures as the Cummins-Esch railroad bill which makes strikes virtually unlawful.

Now to the figures which are neither dry nor forbidding:

In the last national campaign—1916—the Federation had 2,050,000 members. In 1916, owing to the war, the Federation did not enter the campaign. In 1912 the Federation entered the campaign with a membership of 1,800,000.

This year the American Federation of Labor has a membership of 4,500,000. It is the comparison of this figure with the 1912 membership that is worrying political leaders.

HOW THE LABOR ARMY IS BEING MOBILIZED

THE manner in which this army of labor is being organized for the business of voting is interesting. Here is the ground plan and front elevation of the structure:

A general committee of twenty-five, appointed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in response to instructions voted by the last convention, is the supreme campaign authority and guide, barring of course the Federation itself. An executive committee of three is the acting supreme authority. This committee of three is composed of President Samuel Gompers, Secretary Frank Morrison of the Federation, and James O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department of the Federation. These three men, who have worked together as union officials for more years than most first voters have lived, meet frequently and lay plans which are being executed by the subordinate sections of the machinery.

Three bureaus carry the main load of headquarters detail. These are the bureau of information and co-operation, the speakers' bureau, and the bureau of publicity. Why these are called bureaus is a mystery, because they are just offices full of men and women who hold conferences, write loads of letters, call the turn on legislators for their votes, mail out tons of reading matter and lay plots against the white space of the nation's well known newspapers.

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Out in the field—the "field" being the United States—there is a different kind of organization. It is worth while to take a look at this side of the Federation's campaign.

There are 900 central labor bodies in the country. A central body is a community federation of local unions. There are some 40,000 local unions. In addition to these there are numbers of metal trades councils, building trades councils, printing trades councils, label trades councils and other organizations, all a part of the big trade union organization. Each of these organizations has been asked to appoint a committee for campaign work. The theory is that each central body will appoint a committee of five. This is the central unit for the community. Each local body is to appoint a committee of three and all are to unite around the central committee. If all committees which have been called for were to be appointed there would be fully 50,000 labor-campaign committees spreading a net over the country which no other campaign organization can hope to equal.

To be sure, not all organizations will respond to the call. But many States—so the bureau of information and co-operation reports—have a 90 per cent organization and some have reported a real 100 per cent machine. No politician needs to be told that where a hundred per cent of the committees asked for are actually appointed there is some ginger at work.

Washington campaign headquarters knows every time a committee is appointed because it gets the names back on a prepared card and the committee is not counted until the card comes. The headquarters knows the value of not fooling itself.

"Anxious Inquirer" opens the door to ask about what this organization does—how it goes about the job of coining votes for the cause, how it turns victory for 1920 out of the disappointments of 1916. Fair question, too.

No two weeks pass in which a letter does not go to the 900 central bodies and the 40,000 local unions, bearing hard on the campaign and urging work, work, work. As

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fast as committees are reported in to headquarters they begin to get letters. Committees are still being reported in at an average rate of 100 per day, or 700 per week. In the beginning they were reported even more rapidly than that.

IS THERE A BLACKLIST?

LITERATURE for distribution goes out at about the same speed.

System is the middle name of the campaign managers. One dictation, one order—and a letter goes to 50,000 people, or to 200,000 people, as the case may be. Add a sentence to the letter and it is read to more than 4,000,000 people. That isn't a small audience to address regularly, as Mr. Bryan would agree.

Somebody early in the campaign said something about a blacklist. Congressmen actually began jumping sideways and some of them are still jumpy. But it is authoritatively said that there is no blacklist and never has been one.

What happens is this:

Records of Congressmen are compiled by the committee on information and co-operation. These records show the labor measures that have come before Congress and they show how each member voted. They show absences and pairs. The votes on each measure are called "good" votes or "bad" votes. These records are sent into the district from whence Mr. Congressman hails. No recommendation accompanies them. They contain only the record—the facts. The local labor movement does the rest.

Only in the most conspicuous cases has this practice been altered. For example, in the case of Mr. Cummins it is said there has been a straight condemnation without mincing any words.

HOW THE FINANCING IS DONE

INQUIRY about finances develops an interesting story. Each national and international union was asked to contribute a sum equal to one cent per member. A fifth grade schoolboy can compute the size of the Federation campaign fund. Local campaign units may proceed to raise their

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own funds in the manner which seems most fitting—or productive.

Headquarters has devised a system for helping local campaigns. It is a card system whereby the local campaigners may go out and get support in dollar contributions. The contributor may pay a dollar at once, or a quarter four times. He gets a card which certifies that he has given a dollar. The card is a triplicate affair requiring five signatures to insure against misuse. Each of these cards has to be accounted for to the national headquarters. The system is furnished only to localities where intensive campaigns are being conducted and where money is really needed. None of the money collected by this arrangement goes to the national headquarters. What is collected in Oshkosh stays in Oshkosh and is spent under the direction of the Oshkosh labor campaign organization.

Edgar Wallace, in charge of the national speakers' bureau is organizing a corps of speakers. He is a miner, used to thinking deeply in deep places. He admits it isn't original, but he is organizing also an army of four-minute speakers. He believes four-minute speakers will reap votes as rapidly as they will sell bonds. It is his plan to have these speakers address union meetings all over the country each week. If they can be assigned to other meetings that will be done, he says. The speakers will be furnished each week with a guide for their speech so that the same speech will be delivered everywhere.

The labor campaign meets its obstacles, just as all campaigns meet them. It expects defeats and is confident of victories. Victories have been scored in Alabama, Texas, Pennsylvania and other States thus far. The Labor Party idea is sapping the enthusiasm for the non-partisan campaign in a few localities. Chicago is affected in that manner, New York to a lesser extent, Pennsylvania somewhat and Indiana a bit. The Labor Party drift, however, is weakening, according to the reports at headquarters, and proof of this is cited in reports and correspondence. Typical of many reports coming to the headquarters is this

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from Ohio: "Meeting of representatives of central bodies in forty cities with State executive committee unqualifiedly endorses non-partisan campaign."

Speaking of the campaign and the outlook, President Samuel Gompers says:

> "The present non-partisan political campaign being conducted by the American Federation of Labor follows the established policy of American labor in political endeavor. The effort of Labor in this campaign is being conducted in accordance with that non-partisan policy.
>
> "The present campaign is the most energetic and sweeping in which Labor has engaged for two reasons. There are twice as many organized workers as there were in the 1912 campaign and there is a greater need for energetic protection of the rights and liberties of the masses of our people.
>
> "The elements of reaction have never been so blind, never so unthinking, never so brutal and bigoted.
>
> "The non-partisan campaign of organized labor and the enthusiasm that surrounds it is the best guarantee America has today of the ability of democracy to defend itself against unscrupulous and predatory attack from within the Republic."

AUTUMN

By L. A.

DE fros' am on de fence rail
An' de leaf am on de groun',
De canderdate am busy
Throwin' circulars aroun'!

Dey's apples in de suller,
Dey's taters in de bin,
Dey's polertishuns ready
Fer to make an awful din!

De harvestin' am ober,
De stove wood stacked away,
So le's set down an' lissen
To 'em talk 'till 'lection day!

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THE HIGH COST OF PRESIDENT-MAKING

"Educating the Voter" an Expensive Necessity

WHAT WE SPEND QUADRENNIALLY

Cost of Primaries	$10,000,000
Cost of Conventions	15,000,000
Cost of Campaign (all Parties)	50,000,000
Cost of Voting	30,000,000
Cost of Inauguration	30,000,000
Total	$135,000,000

The Cost of Voting includes Election bureau salaries (all States), local expenses (cities, towns), office expenses, rents, printing and general expenses incident to the ballot. The Cost of Inauguration includes railroad and Pullman fares, extra trains, board and lodging, reserved and window seats, pension office loss, ball tickets, band concert, illuminations, fireworks, etc.

By ALFRED E. KEET

AS our great country grows in population and wealth the work of nominating, electing and inaugurating a President vastly increases as also does the expense. The United States is thinking in billions now—not in thousands as once upon a time; hence of recent years there have been times when the national campaign war-chests trended toward titanic proportions.

In the 1916 Presidential campaign, for example, the G. O. P. fund for Hughes totalled $2,441,565.05, and this sum did not include a trifle of $400,000 for advertising, or $66,000 for a touring train, or $30,000 for the Hughes College Men's League, or $10,000 for the Hughes women's

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train. More than 34,000 people contributed to the Republican cause, Harry Payne Whitney leading as the largest subscriber with $30,000. It was certified that no corporations contributed.

Many of our most prominent society queens also aided the Hughes cause with large checks from $10,000 down to $1,000; Mrs. Colis P. Huntington, Mrs. H. P. Whitney, Mrs. Daniel Guggenheimer, Mrs. Willard D. Straight, Mrs. Harriman, Mrs. Vanderbilt, Mrs. Warburg, Mrs. Stotesbury, Mrs. du Pont, Mrs. Crocker, and Miss Helen Frick, among them.

The Democratic fund for Wilson reached about a million and a half dollars, the largest contributor being one of President Wilson's class-mates, Cleveland H. Dodge, whose total subscription was $79,000. Mr. Wilson himself gave $2,500 and there were more than forty thousand other contributors.

The New York *American,* in November, 1916, remarked:

> "If Wilson wins this year he will smash a precedent unbroken since 1860, namely that every Presidential election has invariably been won by the party with the largest war chest."

The figures as to campaign expenditures, from 1860 to 1916, as shown in the below table, seem to bear out the newspaper's contention:

YEAR.	CANDIDATES.	CAMPAIGN FUND.	ELECT. VOTE.
1860—	Lincoln	$100,000	180
	Douglas	50,000	12
	Breckenridge		72
1864—	Lincoln	125,000	212
	McClellan ..	50,000	21
1868—	Grant	150,000	214
	Seymour ...	75,000	80
1872—	Grant	250,000	286
	Greeley	50,000	—
1876—	Hayes	950,000	185
	Tilden	900,000	184
1880—	Garfield	1,100,000	214
	Hancock ...	355,000	155
1884—	Blaine	1,300,000	182
	Cleveland ..	1,400,000	219
1888—	Harrison ...	1,350,000	233
	Cleveland ..	855,000	168
1892—	Harrison ..	1,850,000	145
	Cleveland ..	2,350,000	277
1896—	McKinley ..	16,500,000	271
	Bryan	675,000	176
1900—	McKinley ..	9,500,000	292
	Bryan	425,000	155
1904—	Roosevelt ...	3,500,000	336
	Parker	1,250,000	140
1908—	Taft	1,700,000	321
	Bryan	750,000	162
1912—	Taft	750,000	8
	Roosevelt ..	325,000	88
	Wilson	850,000	435
1916—	Hughes	2,012,535	254
	Wilson	1,400,229	277

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Note the vast sum spent in 1896 to "beat Bryan." This was the greatest political educational campaign ever waged, the whole country being inundated with literature and orators, either combatting or championing the free-coinage of silver doctrine. The shrewd Hanna, *Warwick* of the Republican Party, spent money like water, his printing bill alone exceeding a million dollars. The total amount spent for the Republican cause must have exceeded $17,000,000.

In this battle against Bryan and his oncoming host of free-silverites single subscriptions to the G. O. P. fund were as high as $200,000. It was a case of "anything to beat Bryan"—the "end would justify the means." For once the G. O. P. was badly frightened.

The Bryan forces, though heavily backed by a few big Western mining kings, like Senator William A. Clark and Marcus Daly, raised $675,000 only, yet their candidate, Bryan, bagged no less than 176 electoral votes!

Probably the most popular campaign fund was that raised for Bryan in 1908, to which more than 100,000 people contributed, in sums from a nickel up.

THE MYSTERIOUS "BIG FUND" OF 1904.

THE Roosevelt-Parker campaign of 1904 was a bitter one, and a certain mysterious "Big Fund" for the Roosevelt cause was probed for years afterwards, in 1912 becoming the subject of a sensational Senate inquiry.

In October, 1904, Judge Parker made the charge that the trusts were furnishing the money for the purpose of controlling the election, and boldly attacked Roosevelt and Cortelyou. On November 4, President Roosevelt said: "Mr. Parker's accusations against Mr. Cortelyou and me are monstrous . . . unqualifiedly and atrociously false."

But in December, 1905, E. H. Harriman, the railroad magnate, in a letter to Sidney Webster, an international law expert, relates how Roosevelt asked him to come to Washington "to confer upon the political situation in New York State." Harriman at once complied and Roosevelt told him he understood that the campaign couldn't be carried on without sufficient money, and, in short, asked him

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(Harriman) if he'd help in raising funds. On his return to New York, Treasurer Bliss told him "he was their last hope." So he (Harriman) contributed $50,000 and got Mr. Depew to raise the balance up to about $200,000. "The amount enabled the New York State Committee," continues Harriman in his letter, "to continue work, with the result that at least 50,000 votes were turned in the city of New York." All told it was claimed to have made a difference of 100,000 votes in the general result. Mr. Harriman further recites that he wanted Mr. Depew sent to France, as Ambassador, but that President Roosevelt wanted him in the Senate again. Then, making the charge that "this present situation has been brought about by a combination of circumstances which has brought together the Ryan, Root, Roosevelt element," Mr. Harriman closed his extraordinary epistle with the words: "Where do I stand?" The *World* published this letter, in 1907, its authenticity being admitted by Harriman.

In August of 1912 Colonel Roosevelt vehemently denied the above.

In the meantime the New York *World* had been probing into the matter and in September, 1907, claimed to have cleared up the mystery of the Republican Big Fund which was raised at the eleventh hour (October 24th) in the 1904 campaign, and gave the following list of donations:

E. H. Harriman	$50,000
H. McK.Towmbly	25,000
C. M. Depew	25,000
James Hazen Hyde	25,000
Equitable Life Assurance Society	10,000
J. P. Morgan	10,000
Geo. W. Perkins, N. Y. Life Insurance	10,000
H. H. Rogers, Jno. D. Archbold, Wm. Rockefeller } Standard Oil Co.	30,000
James Speyer and other financial interests	10,000
C. N. Bliss	10,000
Seven Friends of C. M. Depew	35,000

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Miscellaneous small contributions	20,000
Total	$260,000

This "mysterious Big Fund" went to Treasurer Bliss, from him to Chairman Cortelyou, who retained $60,000 for uses in the State, sending his check for the remainder ($200,000) to the State Chairman, Odell.

Before the Clapp Senate Committee in October, 1912, Colonel Roosevelt, who testified at some length, declared: "I never asked Mr. Harriman directly or indirectly for a dollar to help in that campaign (1904) or any other campaign." And he ridiculed the charge that Mr. Bliss had blackmailed Mr. Archbold of the Standard Oil.

In this connection Senator Penrose, the Pennsylvania "boss," testified that he had advised Mr. Archbold to have the Standard Oil Co. submit to the blackmail.

At this the witness (Roosevelt) shook a fist at the Committee and shouted:

"And I hold that the Senate of the United States should throw Mr. Penrose out of the Senate for the admission that he has made before this committee."

The Colonel further said that any man who would give him a contribution and expect anything in return "was either a fool or a crook."

The Democratic fund, for Judge Parker, in 1904, was heavily financed by August Belmont, whose contribution was $250,000, and Thomas F. Ryan who gave $450,000 personally, the largest amount ever contributed by any one individual in the history of American politics.

WHAT THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN IS COSTING

IN the campaign now on the huge sums spent in the Primaries of the various candidates inspired a Senatorial inquiry. Critics of the Republican expenditures have called the publical fight within the party's ranks a "battle of boodle."

It was certified that the cost of General Wood's organization and publicity was about $1,5000,000, Governor

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Lowden's nearly $500,000, Senator Johnson's nearly $200,000, and Hoover's about $170,000, all of whose campaigns received a large popular vote, General Wood leading, followed by Governor Lowden, neither of whom from the start were evidently the choice of the National Committee —a strange commentary on American politics.

The election expenses of the successful candidate, Harding, were $113,109. Mr. Coolidge's expenses were nominal.

The Democratic purse seems to have been a small one, holding, all told, only $75,000 of which the Palmer fund was $59,000, although it has been announced that the Democratic National Committee raised by subscriptions, in pre-campaign months, over a million dollars, and have maintained in Washington a most complete business committee to raise funds for political propaganda and organization upkeep.

The Senate investigation into 1920 Presidential primary expenditure brought out the fact that at least $10,000,000 had been spent by the various candidates, and the testimony during the hearings appears to have been no less fatal to the success of the Illinois Governor than to the hero of Santiago.

The hugeness of this expenditure on Primaries horrifies the President's son-in-law, William G. McAdoo, and he demands the enactment of a law to make Presidential campaign contributions a crime. He wants the Government to pay all elections bills.

Says Mr. McAdoo:

> "One thing America will never stand for, and that is the purchase of the Presidency of the United States. . . . We should consider the advisability of a drastic change in the national election laws. This thing of financing a national campaign by the profiteering interests must cease and even contributions by private citizens should be utterly wrong and improper.
>
> "The expenses of the national elections should be paid for out of the United States Treasury and it should be made a crime for a man to contribute a dollar to influence an election. Not only would we then be spared the humiliation of begging for funds, but the cost of the campaign would be reduced to one-fifth of what they are now.
>
> "I was chairman of the National Democratic Committee in 1912, and I know something of the difficulty of getting money and the waste involved and the prodigal expenditures necessary.

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> "If the National Government paid the expenses of the national campaigns and specified the legitimate objects for which expenditures might be made politics would be purified enormously.
>
> "It would be a practical matter to the people and they would save ten, fifty, and a thousand times what they spent out of the Treasury, for then they would not have to pass laws to reimburse crooked politicians for what they put into the campaign expenses."

President Butler, of Columbia University, denounces the Primary system as a fraud and a farce, a public scandal. "As a method of exaggerating the importance of small minorities this system is quite ideal," is his conclusion.

LINCOLN'S OPINION OF CAMPAIGN MONEY

IT is interesting to read Abraham Lincoln's opinion as to the use of money in National elections. In a letter written in 1860, he says:

> ". . . I cannot enter the ring on the money basis—first, because in the main it is wrong; and secondly, I have not and cannot get the money . . . the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects in a political contest the use of some is both right and indispensable. . . . I now distinctly say this: If you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago I will furnish one hundred dollars to bear the expenses of the trip."

The total Lincoln campaign fund in that year was $100,000. What would this sum be the equivalent of today? And how would it compare with campaign funds of today?

In the early days of the Republic things were much simpler. Washington's election expenses in 1757, according to an American historian, were: one hogshead and one barrel of punch, 35 gallons of wine and 43 gallons of hard cider. While later candidates incurred heavy personal expense, the campaign fund, such as we know it today, was unknown.

What, for example, would the early "forefathers of the hamlet" have thought of the following rough but fairly accurate estimate of a campaign bill:

ESTIMATED 1920 CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

Advertising	$20,000,000
Printing	7,000,000
Speakers	2,000,000

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Brass bands	800,000
Clerical help	2,200,000
"Workers"	7,000,000
Buttons, badges	3,000,000
Rent—halls, theatres	3,000,000
Conventions, rallies	3,000,000
Telegrams, telephones	2,000,000
Total	$50,000,000

Of course the corrupt and improper use of money in elections is a menace to free government, and cannot be too severely condemned. We don't want any profiteering in Presidents. But, like the futile attempts to corner wheat, cotton or copper, any attempt to corner the Presidency nowadays must ignominiously fail.

THE RECENT DISCLOSURES AT WASHINGTON

THE disclosures before the Senate investigating Committee have been published far and wide, and, as usual, been fair game for the editorial writers. It now seems certain that the Committee will ultimately recommend a primary law so drawn as to put an end to abnormally large campaign expenditures.

There were some humorous tilts at the hearings in Washington. Senator Johnson of California, during the testimony, declared that his election as Republican National Committeeman was being used by Democratic leaders in Georgia in an endeavor to head off a threatened party split among Georgia Democrats. Democrats paid from $5 to $5,000 for votes in Georgia this year, and "generally spent more money than the Republicans," Johnson told the committee. He also said that the Democrats spent much more money in Georgia than did the Republicans.

"Why, then," asked Senator Kenyon of Senator Johnson, "is the colored vote solidly Republican?"

"I'll tell you!" Senator Reed interjected, drowning Johnson's reply: "A colored fellow I know got $10 to vote for one fellow and $5 to vote for another. He voted for the

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$5 man. When I asked him why, he said he'd vote for the least corrupt party."

Amid a burst of laughter the hearing adjourned.

After all, why should there be all this hubbub, quadrennially, over the money spent in making a President? Is it not a vastly important matter—the most important event in our life as citizens of a Republic of 105,000,000 people? It is not a matter that can be left to chance, to the haphazard, unenlightened, unguided volition of ignorant masses of voters. The voters must be thoroughly posted on all the issues at stake, be informed as to the fitness of the candidates and how they stand on basic national questions. And the "deadly parallel," is often successfully invoked.

A tremendous amount of team-work is necessary to carry on this campaign of "educating the voter," but it is absolutely essential, and of course costs a great deal of money. One party alone spends more than a million dollars in postage, to say nothing of huge sums for printing, clerk hire, posters, badges, bands, illuminations, advertising, etc. The Harding notification committee went to Marion, the Ohio home of the Republican candidate, in a special train of five Pullmans.

Certainly a people who spend a billion dollars a year on candy, fifty millions for chewing gum, nigh a billion to see the "movies," and almost a billion and a half for smokes, and some nineteen more billions annually for various other *luxuries,* should be able to well afford to spend a few millions in selecting and electing a President.

Of course, it is not so much the amount of money spent in national political campaigns that arouses indignation and fear, as it is the way in which it is spent, for bribery and corruption seem to be the inevitable result of a fat campaign chest. Cries of "boodle" rend the air, and we are reminded of '76 and '84 the two elections since the Civil War in which it is claimed that money, scandalously used, bought the Presidency.

But, as a matter of fact, money is no longer used as it once was for election-campaign purposes. There was a

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time in this country when votes were openly bought, and other forms of bribery common. It was so the world over. In England once seats in Parliament were openly advertised for sale in the daily newspapers, and it is a matter of history that a certain beautiful English countess bartered kisses for votes for her husband during her stump tour on his behalf.

Nowadays, however, election money is spent in advertising, publicity work, and printing, the idea being to sway the voter by informative literature, powerful and persuasive argument, illuminative human-interest personality stories—vivid pen-pictures of the candidate's career from the cradle up.

CAN A PRESIDENT LIVE ON HIS SALARY?

NOT only has the expense of nominating Presidential candidates, and the cost of electing one of the two or more nominees been the subject of wide-spread publicity and comment during the present campaign, but the cost of being President has also been discussed.

Mr. McAdoo, for example, in declining to "run," declared that he could not afford to be President, because of the necessity of providing for the future of his family. He does not believe, it seems, that a President can live on his salary of $75,000. In reality there is no reason why he can not only live on his salary, but save more than half of it.

The President pays no rent, is immune from income-tax and other taxation, most of his servants are supplied by the Government, as also his secretaries, stenographers, etc. He is also supplied by the Government with automobiles, carriages and a superb yacht. He pays no club dues in the Capitol, the courtesy of all such organizations being gladly extended to him, boxes at the theatre are reserved for the President and his family without charges, and some of our Presidents during their term of office have been the recipients of many valuable presents.

The President has also an allowance of $25,000 a year for traveling, and, in the case of President Wilson, very liberal sums were allowed him for his European tour, in connection with the Versailles Peace Treaty.

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A President's actual expenses are, hence, almost nominal, including only food for himself and family and few personal servants, their wages, and his own clothes.

In short it is doubtful if a President, even in these h.-c.-of-l. times, need spend more than $30,000 of his $75,000 yearly stipend. So, after all, there is no financial rock in the way of a poor man's way to the Capitol, always providing he has the National Committee of his party behind him in his pre-Convention fight.

"From log cabin to White House," is no mere figure of speech!

TO——

By FAITH BALDWIN

MY love for you is a Bedouin,
Passionate, secret, simple:
Crossing the Desert of the World,
On fearless, brown feet:
Dark with the eternal mystery and splendidly grave,
Yet stirred to easy laughter, like a child,
Supremely conscious of God,
Watching the sunrise and the night fall
With the clear, unstartled eyes of those who live in the open,
Somehow akin to the stars, somehow akin to the earth,
One with the wild, warm winds.
My love for you is a Bedouin,
Unfettered,
And is not your kiss the flowering of an oasis
In the wastelands,
And Death
A distant and unimportant mirage?

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WHY VOTE THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET

By HON. JAMES MIDDLETON COX

[*Democratic Nominee for the Presidency and Governor of Ohio*]

THE editor of THE FORUM has asked me to answer the question, "Why vote the Democratic ticket?" The answer is so conclusive to my mind, that I would prefer the question in the negative interrogative, thus: "Why not vote the Democratic ticket?"

It seems to me that any voter of an independent turn of mind, who has kept himself well informed for the last eight or nine years, would find that when he had closeted himself to consider judicially how to cast his ballot his examination would naturally turn to a search for reasons why he should not vote the Democratic ticket—because his first impression would be favorable to that ticket. For a long time now the course of events and performance have tended to build up the Democratic case and contribute little to the Republican. The reasons for supporting the Democratic ticket are outstanding and plain. Reasons for not voting for it must be looked for in the byways and the hidden places.

But taking the question in the positive form, a great and underlying reason for voting the Democratic ticket is to be found in the ancient wisdom that believes in safety first. The Democratic party is today a known quantity. Through two olympiads of achievement it has been writing itself down in positive records of constructive advancement that are open to all. During the same period, the Republican party has necessarily been the party of criticism, opposition and negative. As against a good thing done even a good criticism avails but little.

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Today the voter knows the Democratic party favorably by its many works. His only modern acquaintance with the Republican party is with its fault-finding and its promises.

When it comes to swapping horses the canny trader pauses long ere he trades an animal he knows to be sound, healthy, and reliable for one that has only the character composed for him by his owner. Talking of horse-trading recalls Lincoln's advice against swapping horses in the middle of the stream. Just at this conjunction of events, to trade the Democratic party for the Republican party would not only be taking dubious chances on the trade itself, but it would have to be consummated in the middle of a very rapid, deep and turbulent stream. The Democratic horse is certain by its recent record to buffet successfully the torrent, but the capacity of the Republican horse for the same task is entirely problematical.

REPUBLICANS HAVE ACCOMPLISHED NOTHING

AND yet, to be entirely fair, I must admit that it is not quite accurate to say that we have no modern record by which to judge the Republican party. It has been in control of Congress, though not of the Executive department since March 4, 1919, and has therefore had an opportunity for revealing its constructive and creative capacity, if it has any. In two sessions of a Republican Congress nothing has been accomplished that the man in the street can recall. And yet those sessions, being after the confusion caused by the greatest of wars, in both domestic and international affairs, were confronted by rich opportunities for the exercise of the highest sort of creative statesmanship. Yet little worth while was done, and the things left undone call for greater penitence in the Republican litany than the doing of "those things which we ought not to have done." The commission of the 66th Congress has not been good, it is true, but its omission has been as great as it has been ruinous. It has not even been a husky, two-fisted, likable offender, but has sinned as a weakling—the sin of vacillation, indecision, irresoluteness, and do-nothingness. While this Congress has juggled craftily with fiscal legislation in

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order to make an expenditure look like a receipt, and has given mature consideration to the exclusion of the alien bean—though little to the Americanization or exclusion of the alien "nut"—it has been environed in the most tragic and crucial epoch of our time, if not of all times. Nero fiddling while Rome burned, was by comparison a noble exhibition of self-control. In domestic affairs it reached the height of its constructive and reconstructive capacity when it refused to appropriate a cent for the work of the industrial conference which diligently sought for months to find the firm foundations of industrial peace and internal harmony, leaving Herbert Hoover and the other unfortunate members of that commission to pay not only their personal expenses but the cost of publishing their findings to the country.

INTERNATIONAL BLUNDERING AND COWARDICE

AND the international omissions! Thanks to a petty provincialism that recalls the days of the Continental Congress and the militia of 1812 that stood on the New York side of the Niagara river, and on their constitutional right to stay there, while a heroic regular force was overpowered at Queenstown Heights, the great war work is being fast undone. Under Democratic administration we struck a knock-out blow at the enemy of civilization. Under Republican legislative break-down we have fled from the scene of our triumph like a thief in the night. We knocked out the old bad order in Europe and scuttled in mean affright leaving behind us a worse disorder that threatens to engulf the world.

Our soldiers played the part of demigods on the world stage, but a Republican Congress has acted with the courage of a frightened rabbit. "If ye break faith with us who die, we shall not sleep," wrote the soldier-poet McCrae. And we have broken the faith—not on the field of battle, but in the halls of Congress and the council places of the nations.

Realization of the age-long dream of everlasting peace was at hand but our Republican Senators abandoned it for

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the satisfaction of personal grudges. "When the gods depart, the half-gods arrive," says the poet, but when the god-like heroes of the war departed from their fields of victory the political hucksters took possession—and the hope of the world is traded for a political tactic.

NOTABLE DEMOCRATIC ACHIEVEMENTS

BUT to go back to the fertile field of positive Democratic achievements, they are so many that I shall not even undertake to enumerate them in this brief statement, for enumeration without exposition is only tedious. But let us note that the Federal Reserve act translated our banking and currency practice from the stone-age of finance to the most advanced modernity with marvelous rapidity and sureness. That single act entitles the Democratic party to the respect, gratitude and confidence of the nation. It swept away the old cycle of panics that was accepted as the act of God and emancipated business from the palsy of fear.

Another notable Democratic achievement is the Farm Loan Board and the chain of Farm Loan Banks and Associations. These organizations have opened up a channel that has penetrated the farmer's financial isolation and made him a part of the nation's credit machine.

The mere recital of the acts, legislative and administrative, of the government under Democratic control that have been of solid benefit to the manual workers and masses of the country sounds like the rattle of a machine gun. From the Adamson law to the War Labor Board the last seven years have been a procession of humanitarian advance. Without mentioning the many different steps in this progress, it is indisputable that through sane Democratic liberalism labor has entered a new era, and that it is largely because the Democracy is giving us industrial evolution that we are missing the red revolution that is shaking all Europe.

But Democratic government has not been class government. American business is better looked after and promoted at home and abroad today than ever before. Because of Democratic control we have better banking, higher

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standards in business and greater industrial harmony than ever before. The American Merchant Marine has been restored, 2,000 American ships have been built and a Shipping Board created to foster American shipping interests. A whole new world of commercial venture and investment has thus been opened up to our people.

THE WAR A SUPREME TEST

THE great war was the supreme test of the capacity of the Democratic government. It early saw that it was an economic and industrial war even more than of grenades, guns and airplanes. Of the greatest chance for a bureaucratic fiasco in the history of the nation it made the greatest business success. It annexed the business genius and talent of America on the executive side, and called up the whole man-power of the nation on the fighting side. Strong for peace till all hope failed, it struck in war with all the resources of the nation. The triumphant winning of the war on land and sea, in the air, in finance and economics, was no mere caprice of fortune but was the well-earned reward of a war that was better managed militarily and industrially on the whole and in every detail than some of our little Indian campaigns. What better certificate of governing capacity could any party have?

Throughout the war and ever since the country maintained an exceptional degree of prosperity. In very large measure this was due to Democratic policies—policies that made business safe, labor content and faithful, national credit inflexible and the currency as unassailable as Gibraltar.

Unquestionably the Democratic party is the party of prosperity. What thinking man would hazard the solid good that he enjoys today for a reversal of policy that might and probably would unsettle the very foundations of national well-being. Back in the Mark Hanna days the Republicans used to talk about a full dinner pail as the seventh heaven of Republican prosperity. In Democratic times we have had the full dinner pail, the full pocketbook and the full life so long that the first now has no more vote-

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getting potency than a promise of free air. We have traveled a long way since 1896, and the Democratic party has been the chief conveyance.

BETTERMENT OF THE PEOPLE OUR AIM

I SYMPATHIZE with Thomas Jefferson's view that that is the best government that governs least—but in this age I consider that also the best government is the one that concerns itself most with the betterment of its people. Government is no longer a mere police force. Its job is to keep people out of jail instead of in. It must be a great living organism devoted to pushing the masses up the grade. It is a bitter disgrace to our civilization that there is 17 per cent of illiteracy in the United States, that in the midst of plenty there is ofttimes lack of the necessaries of life, that the one man starves while another wastes, that the mountains are full of coal and the bins empty, that with no end of work to be done there should be workless men. I don't believe in socialism, and I do deeply believe in individual self-reliance and initiative, but after all government is merely a committee for mass action, and through government we can teach, inspire, point the way and set the example; and I say today that no government is worth its salt that is not supremely concerned with the betterment of its people. That is the Democratic view.

A new dispensation has come and the Democratic party is the dispenser. That is only another way of saying that it is the liberal and progressive party. A nation, like any other organism, goes forward or backword, grows or decays. The Democratic party has carried and will continue to carry the nation forward and to new growth. It doesn't look longingly back at the good old times. It looks forward to the golden age. It believes that government should lead and not be pushed forward. We're on the forward road, as we should be, and any attempt to interfere with progress, such as would be sure to result from reactionary Republican success this fall, could only result in trouble, social, economic and commercial.

The Democratic ticket, then, should be voted by every man who believes in a strong, progressive, efficient and

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businesslike national government, by every man who believes in progress, political and economic, by every true liberal, by every man who judges parties according to performance, by every man who prizes prosperity and by every man who loves to see his country great in influence, spotless in honor; and first in peace as she was in war.

THE SONG OF CHARLOTTE AMALIE, PORT OF ST. THOMAS

By DANIEL HENDERSON

HERE in my palace a sorcerer builded—
Draining the rainbow for colors to paint it—
Bathing his bricks in the gold of the sunshine—
I dream of lovers who came and departed!

I was the Rahab who sheltered the Spaniard!
I was the Circe who called to the English!
I was the warm dark mate of the Norseman—
Luring alike the Malay and Frenchman!

God sent his prophets
To warn and to scourge me!
God raised His cross where my lovers built bowers!
God spoke in cyclones and fire and rebellion!
Yet through them all I have clung to my crimson—
Sackcloth and ashes are not for the tropics!

Here I sit masking my age and awaiting
The arms of the future!

Once—how the sails flocked like doves to my beaches!
When will my new love answer my singing?
When will his keel break the blue of my harbor?

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MY AMERICANISM

By SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING

I BELIEVE in America. I believe in America First. I believe that America should and will join in any association of nations that is workable and that has the approval of the whole united Nation, but I believe the best service that America can render the world is by example rather than by meddling, and by deeds rather than by words.

I believe in an Americanism that recognizes no class and that condemns all attempts to gain special favor, whether these special favors be for great and powerful money interests or for a minority group of discontents.

I believe in an Americanism that recognizes in the claim of power by a revolutionary minority the same claim of autocracy that is made by a Czar or a Kaiser.

I believe in an Americanism that instead of reducing the fit and the unfit to a common level provides equal opportunity for all to show their fitness and unfitness and to succeed or fail according to their own merit, capacity and worth.

I believe in an Americanism that comes up from the people and is expressed by their will, and I oppose the anti-American idea that democracy is a kind of free boon handed down from powerful official hands or distributed from some possible magic source by a dictatorial government.

I believe in representative government and not in the domination of one-man government.

I believe in an Americanism that is willing to give first place to the education and the absorption into our brotherhood of citizenship of those who seek new homes in America rather than first place to suppression of free speech and of free thought and of free action.

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RESOLUTE HAND AGAINST WRONGDOERS

BUT I believe in an Americanism that when the time and necessity comes, and, acting on behalf of the great, steady majority, is capable of using a resolute hand in the name of Liberty, whether that resolute hand is used to punish wrongdoers that are rich and powerful and seek autocratic special privilege, or is used to restrain the ignorant plotter for minority control.

(Senator Harding's views as a Presidential candidate publicly expressed.)

"AS I SEE IT"

I HAVE said to myself: "You owe it to the citizens of America to preserve the attitude and the mind of one who serves as well as he can."

As I see it, I owe to the men and women of America to guard against all pretense.

As I see it, I owe it to them to state fully and clearly my beliefs with all the sincerity there is in me.

As I see it, I must not, as I seek to gain votes for my party, yield to the temptation, which often comes to men who are candidates, to make false appeals and appeals which, though they might be successful at the moment, do not serve the truth or do not meet the requirements of our national dignity.

As I see it, I must not drag the attention of the American people into the mire when it is their whole-hearted desire that their attention should be centered upon the problems which we all wish to face bravely and wisely and together.

As I see it, I must concentrate my attention upon construction and not upon abuse. As I see it, I must be patient and tolerant with those Americans who may differ with me.

As I see it, if I were to stoop to insincerity, to mere clamor, to political expediency, to appeals to special classes, I would be failing in that purpose which I trust shall always be mine: not my own interest, not even the interest of my party first, but America First.

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WE MUST RISE OR FALL TOGETHER

The Great Natural Laws that Underlie and Control the Development of Society

By GEORGE E. ROBERTS

[*Vice President National City Bank of N. Y.*]

THE highly developed, intricate, specialized system of industry and exchange which had been slowly developed for supplying the wants of the population and upon which all civilized people were dependent, was to a great extent interrupted and broken down by the war. In ordinary times we scarcely appreciate the services of this organization—the benefits we derive from the division of labor, from the accumulation of capital in the form of machinery, from the systems of communication and transportation in all their agencies of our complicated social life. We do not appreciate them until they cease to function, and even then a large portion of the population does not understand what has happened.

And so it is that the period of disorder and hardships resulting from the war has been favorable to the development of social discontent; and the spread of radical theories for the reorganization of society has aggravated the general confusion and distress.

The spirit of suspicion, selfishness, intolerance and controversy complicates all our problems, domestic and international. Racial prejudices together with narrow and mistaken views of national interests are responsible for wars. We wonder at industrial disputes, in which questions of immediate personal interest are involved and where the participants are often lacking in education and breadth of culture, yet we find our chosen representatives and states-

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men, after a year of effort, unable to agree upon the terms on which we will make peace.

WHAT FACILITY OF ASSOCIATION MEANS

THE truth is that it is very hard for people to get along together without friction and antagonism. Emerson said that "facility of association," was the measure of civilization, meaning that as people become enlightened and broadminded they develop the ability to co-operate in higher and higher degree. "Facility of Association,"—the ability to work together harmoniously and effectively for common interests and purposes—that is the measure of civilization and the condition of social progress. The chief end of a college education should be the development of Facility of Association, the cultivation of breadth of view and of sympathy, toleration, generosity, the spirit of human fellowship. Those who have it and are able to develop it in others are the natural leaders of social life.

The first condition for the development of this Facility of Association is faith in the good will and sincerity of all classes. Present conditions in industry are not due to malevolence or to deliberate and wanton disregard of the rights of others. Those of us who condemn and deplore the violations of law and public rights which sometimes accompany the labor struggles are obliged to recognize that often they are also accompanied by a very noble spirit of devotion and sacrifice to the cause at heart. It is a class spirit, a class consciousness, a class devotion, but it only needs to be broadened and enlightened to regenerate mankind.

On the other hand there is abundant evidence that the great body of the employing class are sincerely interested in the general welfare and in all practical measures for improving the common lot. There is no real difference in character, in aspirations, sympathy or social purposes between classes or important groups in this country. The will to do justice is strong in every rank and class of this country. There is no basis for the doctrine of class conflict, or for attacks upon our Government, and the people who preach such doctrine display their own disqualification for leader-

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ship. They lack that "facility of association" which is the condition of harmonious social progress.

FAITH IN OUR INSTITUTIONS A REQUISITE

ALONG with Faith in the normal qualities of the people themselves there must be Faith in our political institutions. The struggles of the past have been for political rights, and in this country, with the extension of the ballot to women, now almost realized, every person of lawful age will enter an election booth alone, and have an equal voice in making the law and the government of the country. More complete equality in political rights it is impossible to give. The government of the country is in the hands of the people; our institutions are responsive to their will; if the results are not all that may be desired the remedy is in the higher education and development of the people themselves. The real progress of Society is dependent at last upon the development and enlightenment of the individual units of the population.

Our first duty is to defend and preserve the constitutional government of this country as a complete and adequate agency for the expression of the popular will. The people who attack our institutions are not the prophets and leaders of society. They are reversions, born out of time and generations behind the present.

The people of Mexico have a form of government modeled after that of the United States, but when they want changes in the government they resort to armed rebellion, because that is the way of expressing their will which is suited to them. There, again, is lack of that "facility of association" which is necessary to co-operation in affairs of common interest. They are not grounded in the fundamentals of community life. They lack the ability to subordinate a less to a greater interest, to compromise differences, or put them into the background while they work together for purposes upon which they can agree. And there are plenty of people in this country who have the same defect.

Nobody has made society what it is according to any

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plan. The institutions of today are not the result of class conspiracy or authority. They have come to be what they are by a gradual process of evolution, changing with the development of the people themselves.

THE ECONOMIC AND MORAL LAW ONE

IN THESE days a vigorous attack is made upon private property in land. It is said that since the use of the land is necessary to the support of the population, private ownership of land is in contravention of public rights. But private rights in land are based upon the theory that land will be better cared for and made more productive, and therefore yield larger economic results and contribute more to the public welfare, under a system which vests absolute control, such as is assured by title deeds, than under any other system that has been tried. Both arguments therefore recognize that the social interest must control, and so it becomes a question not of theory only but of practical results. And every question of public policy comes to that issue.

The public interests are paramount but they are best served by obedience to the economic law.

The Economic Law is the law of common interest and common necessity. It tends to establish that adjustment and balance of interests which promotes the highest social co-operation, and it is the supreme fact of the social order that there is a natural tendency to such a state of equilibrium. The Economic Law and the Moral Law are one, and if we can know it and follow it, we shall have something to guide us amid the conflicting demands. The modern organization of society, with the division of labor, the use of power and machinery, the exchange of products and services, is a development of the economic law.

Modern Society is essentially and necessarily co-operative. It must work as an organized body. The population of this country could not be supported in the present state of comfort without this system of highly specialized industry and the equipment which it uses. Moreover as the

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population increases and inroads are made upon the natural resources, the effectiveness of industry must be constantly increased and the productive powers of the community constantly enlarged, in order that society may hold its own, to say nothing of making progress.

THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS PARAMOUNT

THE efficiency of the social organization is dependent upon recognition of mutual services and obligations. Since all have gains from it, all owe loyalty to it. It must be recognized that the end and object of all activities in the business world is to meet the needs and wants of the population, to provide an increasing supply of the things that minister to the common comfort and welfare. Everybody is free to forward his private interests, if he does it in conformity to the economic law, which means that he must do so by methods which promote the common welfare. The farmer seeks primarily to forward his own interests by increasing the yield of his farm, but in so doing he promotes the common welfare, and this is the test of all legitimate efforts to promote private interests.

It follows that if any group in the community holding by reason of its services a strategic position, attempts to take advantage of that position to impose its will arbitrarily upon the community, it commits an unfair, unjust and unsocial act. Whenever organized capital or organized labor assumes the responsibility of a function which is vital to society, it must have regard for the public interest in the manner in which it discharges or abandons that function. A part of society cannot be permitted to impose conditions that are injurious to the whole.

We must exalt and establish the rights of the community as a whole, safeguarding the rights of the individual where they harmonize with and promote the interests of all.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

IT IS not strange that the struggles for political equality having culminated, agitation should be directed to economic equality. Equality in benefits, equality in eco-

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nomic distribution, is sought, but in a society which is essentially co-operative, where the sum total of production is the result of the joint efforts of the entire community, it is necessary that distribution shall be based, by some system, upon the contributions of each individual to the total sum.

It is said that conditions are going to be different in the future from what they have been in the past; that political democracy will be of little consequence without democracy in industry and in other relations of life; that in the division between capital and labor, labor must receive more and capital less than in the past.

Every right-minded person must desire that the common lot shall continue to improve in the future as it has in the past, but the economic law will be the same in the future as in the past. The man who is industrious and attentive to his work, whatever it is, will fare better than the man who is indolent and indifferent; the man who is thrifty, who has the resolution to deny himself in order to save and invest for increasing production will fare better than the man who does not deny himself and saves nothing. The man who has executive ability, who can plan and organize and direct others and so make industry more productive, will fare better than the man who does only what he is told. All this is as it must be in the interest of social progress. You cannot interfere with the workings of these economic principles without reducing production, retarding progress and injuring every class.

TWO VIEWS OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

THERE are two general views of the social problem: one lays the emphasis upon the division of wealth and the other puts the emphasis upon increasing the production of wealth. The first view is having a trial in Russia, where the party in power has boxed the compass and returned to the stage of compulsory labor, a system discredited as uneconomical, unprogressive and inhumane. The other view places emphasis upon liberty, the free play of individual initiative and ambition. We live under a regime of personal liberty. It is not very far back in the history of the

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race since the right of the common man to move from one locality to another as he pleased, and choose his own trade, was recognized. In some respects there was greater security and certainty from day to day when the laborer was attached to an overlord than there is now. The liberty of choice always carries the risk and penalty of mistakes, and a great many people make mistakes in groping for their place in the social organization. Perhaps society does not do all that it might to assist them, but we are not likely to surrender liberty to obtain relief.

The existing industrial organization is subject to the play and influence of new ideas from every possible source. Every branch of industry is changing constantly in free development, and the opportunities were never so numerous or rewards so great to any individual who can make a contribution to industrial progress. The sole condition placed upon any innovation is that in practice it must increase and not diminish the industrial product. To this test all theories for the reorganization of industry are brought, for no class can be benefited by any change which reduces the sum to be divided. Industrial society is a going concern, upon which the population depends for its daily bread, and improvements upon it must be made while it continues in action. It must be rebuilt as a bridge is rebuilt, by replacing each bolt and stringer singly while the traffic moves without interruption.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

THERE is no obstacle to the development of Democracy in Industry, assuming this to mean equality in the ownership and management of great industries, except the natural difficulties which arise when large numbers of people attempt to act together. It all depends upon "Facility of Association," ability to get along together. The advantage of the wage system is in its simplicity; the employer furnishes the capital, assumes the responsibility of paying a fixed wage, takes the profits or bears the losses. The wage system endures because the terms are definite, responsibility is fixed and authority for the direction of the business is

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concentrated. The wage system stands as a tentative working arrangement, subject constantly to the competition of thousands of more or less experimental and more or less successful efforts to improve upon it.

The joint stock corporation affords abundant opportunity for co-operation in industrial enterprises. There are successes enough to show that all depends upon the development of "Facility of Association." The farmers' creameries and elevator companies show what may be done. They are not all successful, but enough are to show that success depends upon management and harmonious association. They point the way of normal development.

There is no line of industry in which the wage earners may not come into an important degree of control if they can develop that facility of association which is necessary to any practical part. There are 2,000,000 railroad employes in the United States now receiving an average of something over $1,500 per year each. If they would save $50.00 per year each, they could buy control of all the systems, running from Chicago to the Atlantic Coast, within five years, at the present market prices of the stocks.

That the wage earning class shall come into a large degree of ownership in the industries in which they are employed is very much to be desired, but in order that such control shall be successful it is necessary that it shall be reached by sound, progressive, economic development. Gradually and inevitably, as by improvement in industrial methods and the increasing use of capital, production gains over population, and as efficiency, initiative and self-restraint are more generally developed, distribution increases and broadens, labor receiving a relatively larger share. The more productive the industries are made, the better will be all conditions of life for the masses of the people, and the more favorable for the development of that equality in individual capacity which must be the basis of industrial democracy. As men approach equality in productive ability, equality of rewards will naturally follow.

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INEQUALITIES OF OWNERSHIP

IT is in the ownership of this productive property that the inequalities of distribution are found to exist. The management and ownership of productive property naturally gravitates under the economic law into the hands able to make it most productive, and it is in the interest of the community that this should be so. It would be better for the community if the farmer who seldom gets more than thirty bushels of corn to the acre would sell out to a farmer who seldom gets less than fifty bushels to the acre, unless he can be stimulated by the latter's example to make better use of the land. Throughout all the industries this is the tendency under competition, but the general interest of the community is served by progress in industry and by abundant production.

The people who advocate Government ownership and operation of the railroads and other industries do so upon the theory that there would be an escape from paying profits on the operations, but, aside from the question of efficiency in the operations, they overlook the fact that if there were no profits, if nothing was left over after paying expenses, there would be no fund for the improvement or development or enlargement of the industries, and therefore no industrial progress. An amount of new capital equal to all the net earnings of the railroads of the United States must be invested in them annually in order to keep them up to the growing needs of the country.

If we had the socialist state, all this industrial equipment, all of this capital, would have to be provided in some manner, and reserved from consumption, as it is now. Instead of dividing up and eating up all that is produced, something must be reserved from current production to increase production in the future.

There are good people who believe that too much has been reserved from distribution in the past, but how does anybody know that the condition of the wage-earning class would be better today if more had been divided in wages and less had been devoted to the development of industry

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in the past? You cannot eat your cake and have it too. The industrial development of this country has been accomplished by means of the profits made in industry in the past; if the profits had been less the industrial development would have been less, and the evils of scarcity and high prices would have been greater than they are.

LAWS THAT WORK FOR EQUALITY

THE truth is that there is a normal balance between the compensation of capital and the compensation of labor, fixed in the Economic Law. There must be a certain amount of new capital always available for investment in order to keep the industries of the country up to the wants of the population. If it is not forthcoming, industry will fall behind, improvements will not be made, production will fail to keep pace with population, prices will rise and wages will lose in purchasing power.

On the other hand if too much of current production is put into equipment and not enough is distributed for current consumption, the purchasing power of the people will fall behind production, and further investments will be unprofitable. There would be a state of depression in industry, profitable to nobody.

The Master Principle governing the distribution of wealth is found in the fact that there is practically no way of employing capital productively except by employing labor, and in the service of the masses of the people. The faster capital is accumulated, the greater is the demand for labor, the more rapid the development of industry and the larger the stream of consumable goods coming upon the public market.

Moreover, in all progressive countries capital increases faster than population, faster than the labor supply. In the ten years from 1899 to 1909, population in the United States increased 21 per cent, while the amount of capital invested in the manufacturing industries increased 105 per cent, and the amount of power employed in these industries increased 85 per cent. Under these conditions labor comes naturally into a constantly stronger position.

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Every new fortune, every dollar of new capital saved, goes forthwith to work as a producer, multiplying the things that the world wants; and if things multiply faster than people, what must the tendency inevitably be?

If employers are not forced by labor conditions to distribute profits immediately in higher wages, the distribution must come later and with interest. If we don't get our full share our children will have more in consequence. If the profits of capital for a period are unduly large the additions thus made to capital will create unusual demands upon the labor market and exert a corresponding influence upon wages.

The progress of the masses happily does not depend upon the generosity or forebearance or considerate favor of those who are above them on the social or economic scale. They come up because there are resistless and everlasting laws which work for equality among men.

There is evidence on every hand that the universe is governed by law. Behind all of the vicissitudes and convulsions of nature, back of all the uncertainties and conflicts and hardships of life, there is order and purpose and beneficent law.

There can be no productive effort anywhere without action and reaction throughout the whole industrial system. There can be no monopoly or isolation of benefits or injuries.

PROGRESS BY EFFICIENCY ONLY

NOW these facts and principles are not new; why do they count for so little in the discussion of the day? All the forces of agitation are working overtime upon the ills of society, but with scarcely a word about the great natural laws that underlie and control the development of society and by which all the progress of the past has been made. There is such a tempest on the surface that the steady flow of the current is unseen. But what would it be worth to the peace and progress of society if a knowledge of these common interests could permeate all classes and enter into their daily thinking?

What would it be worth to have it fixed in the popular

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consciousness that progress is not by strife but by efficiency and co-operation, and that great ameliorating influences are always at work?

The broad doctrine that the true interests of humanity everywhere are in harmony rather than conflict, that all nations and all classes prosper or suffer together, is the doctrine of the Economic Law. It holds that the interests of each group is served by that policy which best promotes the interests of all.

We supply but few of our own wants; we are dependent upon others for nearly everything that ministers to our comfort and welfare. The way of social progress is by each making the largest possible contribution to the common welfare and aiding others to do the same.

When the war broke out and England faced the greatest struggle of her history, she found to her alarm and dismay that all was not right at home. There was trouble with labor. There was suspicion, antagonism and almost rebellion on the part of the labor organizations, not only toward the employers but toward the government itself, and no matter how arbitrary or shortsighted their attitude it was a weakness in the unity of England. It was a new demonstration of the essential unity of society, and of perhaps the most profound truth of social philosophy, that you cannot provide for the elevation of a part of society without providing for the elevation of the whole.

And after all, is not that a most wholesome and beneficent principle, sufficient in itself to confirm our faith in the Divine government of the world? You cannot protect the health of a part of the community except as you protect the health of all; and you cannot provide for the prosperity, the security and real progress of any part of the community unless you provide for the advancement, the development and enlightenment of all.

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THE BUSINESS OF THE COUNTRY

Putting Our Foreign Trade on a Fair Basis

By HON. WILLIAM B. COLVER

[*Federal Trade Commissioner*]

FOREIGN trade ties together into one vast fabric the domestic trade of the various peoples of the earth. It is the common concern of all peoples. The United States has taken the lead in extending over that trade, insofar as its own part in it is concerned, the ideals and principles so that we in fact deal with our neighbors as with ourselves.

It has taken many years to live down the tradition of the wooden nutmeg as being typical of American business shrewdness. Like many a "smart story" the evil of that tale has lived after it and there never was any good in it even to be interred with its bones. It is not upon smartness nor 'cutenes that foreign good will will be founded. The access to, and movement upon, the River of Commerce, constitutes the state of fair and free competition which is at the bottom of our present theory of keeping business law. The Federal Trade Commission was created to aid in keeping the channel free of obstructions and the Ships of Commerce moving freely without undue interference, one with the other.

Now as to our new export trade law. The Webb-Pomerene Law, or the Export Trade Act, has been in force a little more than two years. It went into operation just after the anniversary of this country's entrance into he World War so that its trial has been solely under war conditions or post-war conditions, which are nearly, if not entirely, as distressing and difficult as regards foreign trade.

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During the whole time of the operation of this law, the foreign trade of the United States has been beset by economic difficulties of all sorts. Credits, exchange and transportation, both on sea and on land, have been in such a state of disorder as to tend to retard the growth and activities of export associations operating under the new law. So, too, there have been interferences by way of embargoes. In spite of all these things and many other abnormal conditions, some of them world-wide, the Export Trade Act has been demonstrated by the Associations which have been formed under it, to be a decidedly useful instrument in promoting the progress of this country in foreign commerce.

One of the traditional criticisms of the American exporter has been that he tended to take a flyer in a foreign market and to count the success of the venture upon the immediate profit or loss of the single transaction; to enter a market unceremoniously and leave it abruptly. This procedure did not make for the building up of that goodwill, the steady growth of which through the years is the firm foundation upon which real extension in export trade and healthy, steady profit year after year may rest. The Export Trade Associations formed under the Export Trade Act have not shown themselves to be following this theory or practice in commerce. On the contrary, by virtue of the pooling of expenses and perhaps the pooling of patience and courage, we find them entering a market after careful and scientific study and examination, and having entered, we find them prepared, as to financial resource and as to resolution, to remain until they shall have conquered any difficulties, prejudices or obstacles which they may find across their path.

THE WEBB-POMERENE LAW IN ACTION

UNDER the Webb-Pomerene Law, it is permitted that two or more American concerns may associate themselves for a joint adventure into the export trade. They may pool their goods. They may sell at a common price mutually agreed upon. They may have a common purse for expenses. They may agree upon business practices and

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finally, they may share pro rata in the gain or loss of the adventure. All without violation of any of the laws of the United States which seek to prevent combinations, monopolies, restraints of trade, lessening of competition, or the like —all with the proviso that such Association's activities be limited strictly and solely to export trade.

A group of competitors desiring to so associate themselves may either incorporate in any State of the Union or enter into articles of association and thereafter the charter of the corporation or the articles of association are filed with the Federal Trade Commission. This filing and its acceptance constitutes them as an Association under the Export Trade Act. It is necessary that there be filed the names of officers, the members and a full disclosure of the commodities proposed to be dealt in. After all, it is applying to the export trade the national motto "E Pluribus Unum"—one out of many—and bringing into the foreign trade the doctrine that in union there is strength. It is co-operation, it is the pooling of resources, so that producers and manufacturers, who individually would not be able to finance the expenses of securing an introduction and a foothold in foreign markets, may combine their resources and so adventure into the corners of the earth.

In the beginning considerable criticism, not based on understanding, was directed against this law by foreign countries. These criticisms are not now being renewed to any great extent, as the aims, the theory and the practice of the law have come to be better understood abroad.

The Associations thus far operating in the foreign trade, themselves, have done much to silence criticism, for the reason that their conduct has been such that during the whole time of the operation of the law, there has not been a single complaint made by foreign customers against any of these Associations. A course of conduct as carefully chosen as that—with nearly half a hundred Associations actively engaged in foreign trade and in a period of two years and during a time of interrupted communications and of great difficulty in the foreign trade, no act has been com-

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plained of as unfair—means permanence in foreign trade built on good-will, it means repeat orders; it means volume of business; decreasing overhead; increasing profits.

Stated in its baldest and most extreme terms, the first and commonest criticism was that the Webb-Pomerene Law would permit great American combinations of capital to sail under a black flag, and, freed from all restraining laws, invade and pillage the foreign markets at will. Believing this to be true, it is not to be wondered at that our neighbors regarded the enactment of the law with apprehension. But that apprehension was ill-founded.

SAFEGUARDING UNFAIR COMPETITION

IN the first place, the greater units in American business engaged in transactions of large volume and with fully organized export trade departments, had no need of the law and have not brought themselves under the operation of the Law. On the contrary, smaller American business concerns are now able, by virtue of the law, to associate themselves together and to bring a degree of competition in the foreign market and to the foreign customers of the United States, which they cannot bring in the domestic market. Whereas, before the passage of the law, many remote markets could only be reached by the largest American concerns, with little or no competition resulting, it is now possible for smaller concerns, by uniting their resources, to project against their larger competitors a degree of competition which they are not able to bring to bear within the United States.

Another and even more important consideration which at first entirely escaped the attention of our foreign critics, or perhaps if noticed, was viewed with skepticism. It is that through the agency of the Federal Trade Commission, the Export Trade Act invokes and extends to all transactions in foreign trade, all the domestic protection and safeguards against unfair methods of competition and unfair trade practices generally. Thus the United States has taken the lead among the nations of the world in an extension of its highest ideals to govern its foreign commerce.

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The enactment of the law in 1918 was fortunate as to time for the reason that in foreign countries the number and size of trade combinations has grown very rapidly in recent years and through these combinations our foreign competitors have been able to exert a degree of aggressiveness and energy which has tended to offset the difficulties of war times and reconstruction times and which, with the return to normal, would have been a menace to our foreign trade and an obstacle to its extension.

ASSOCIATIONS FORMED UNDER THE ACT

AS I have said, the Associations formed under the Act, are required to file with the Federal Trade Commission certain statements and data before entering upon their operations and currently to file reports in detail of their operations. Such Associations may not enter into any agreement or commit any act which is "in restraint of trade within the United States" or "in restraint of the export trade of any domestic competitor of such Associations" or which "artificially or intentionally enhances or depresses prices within the United States of commodities of the class exported by such Associations" or which "substantially lessens competition within the United States or otherwise restrains trade therein." In case of violation of these provisions, the Commission may, after due investigation and decision, make the necessary readjustments of the business of the Association in order that it may conform to the law, and if such recommendations are not complied with, the Commission shall, "refer its findings and recommendations to the Attorney General of the United States for such action thereon as he may deem proper."

There are now operating under the Export Trade Law a total of forty-four Associations comprising nearly a thousand concerns whose offices and plants are distributed over forty-three States of the United States. The products and commodities exported by the different Associations come from all sections of the country. From California go out lumber, hardware, chemicals, fertilizer, general merchandise; from Illinois condensed milk, grain, meat, office equip-

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ment, agricultural implements, machinery, lumber; from Wisconsin, cereals, canned goods, forest products; from Michigan, chemicals, cereals, foundry equipment, paper, furniture, meats; from New York and Pennsylvania, locomotives, cement, steel, copper, wood products, machinery, textiles, paper, alcohol, chemicals, cereals, food products, general merchandise; from Massachusetts textiles, webbing material, copper, paper, valves and pipe fittings, chemicals, cereals, lumber; from North Carolina and the Southern States, tanning materials, lumber, phosphates, pipe fittings, meats, locomotives, clothespins, general merchandise.

QUESTION OF A NATIONAL TRADE MARK

IT would seem that with the opening of this new era in our foreign trade, a discussion of the matter of a national trade mark takes on a new significance.

There seems to be two objections to the national trade mark idea. The first is, that, as to untrademarked goods, the national trade mark will seem to put a stamp of equality upon inferior goods as compared with goods of merit and of quality. The second is, that the good will which is embodied in private trade marks would be lessened by the use of a general or a national trade mark. It appears that, unless these objections can be cured, such legislation will not be helpful to American business in the markets of the world. But, it seems equally certain that if these objections can be met, a national trade mark may be made of the greatest aid and value to American business in the markets of the world.

If the Congress shall authorize merely a design or symbol which may be placed indiscriminately upon anything, of any kind or quality that is placed upon a ship for sale abroad, then it would seem that that trade mark might work incalculable harm, and especially harmed would be those concerns which, under private trade marks, have built up through the process of quality goods and fair dealings, that greatest of all assets in business, in individual life and in national life—deserved good will. But, if the national trade mark shall be not the substance but the symbol, and

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if the substance behind the symbol shall be the pledge of the nation and the pledge of the conscientious manufacturer and the scrupulously honest trader, then that trade mark will be raised to the dignity of being the seal of the national honor and will command respect—which means good will—in the uttermost markets of the world.

Suppose as a condition and in return for the privilege to use a national trade mark, the exporter were required, on pain of having the use taken from him, to specify by sample, exactly of what the grade and quality his article was intended to be. Suppose that a delivery not up to sample, or a delivery under misrepresentation of any sort, should be sufficient cause for deprivation of the use of the national trade mark. Then the presence of the national trade mark upon an exported article would be the guarantee that it was exactly the article which was purported to be sold and that the terms and conditions of the sale were exactly as had been represented. Conversely, the absence of the national trade mark would serve as a sign and a warning that such goods did not represent the best traditions of American manufacture, nor the circumstances of their sale represent that fair-dealing with which alone, the United States can maintain, permanently, that high and honorable position in the world commerce which it deserves.

Viewed thus, it would appear that the national trade-mark movement is one which may well enlist the hearty co-operation of the business world. Certainly the financial institutions who will be called upon to furnish credit facilities for export and import transactions would be greatly aided by such a device.

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THE INDUSTRIAL COME-BACK OF EUROPE

A Personal Trip Through Poland, Roumania and France

By SAMUEL M. VAUCLAIN

Last March Mr. Vauclain went abroad in the interests of the corporation of which he is the President and the notes he kept of his trip through Poland, Roumania and France abound in human interest, humor and keen business observation—the mental snapshots of an American leader of industry. Mr. Vauclain transacted some of his business while abroad direct with Kings and Queens, and returned with orders totalling $50,000,000. The following is from his private note-book.

En route to France, 1920.

THE *Imperator* was two days late in sailing, and we arrived in Cherbourg, March 17th, practically three days late to my schedule. We left Cherbourg in the morning and had a most delightful ride. The country is the most beautiful I have ever seen. The fruit trees were in bloom, huge flocks of sheep were being grazed along the roadways, and prosperity seemed on every hand. The cities were busy and apparently overcrowded; everybody was hustling and there appeared to be an abundance of provisions.

We found Paris busier than ever and disposed to talk to an American who had France on his mind and was sympathetic. March 22d, Mr. Morse turned up after having had a frightful experience. He was captured by the Germans and returned to Berlin, where he undertook to find shelter at the Adlon Hotel. There was nothing to eat; there were no servants to make the beds, and the fighting took place in front of the hotel. He saw more than one

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hundred shot just outside. Machine-guns were busy, the invading army marched in, and the resident army marched out, and, before he could leave, the resident army marched in, and the invading army marched out again. He was then permitted to take his train. He reports that the whole of Germany is like a park; and the agricultural districts are in full swing, but that the cities and towns are riotous in the extreme.

Leaving Paris, March 24th, we passed through Troyes, Chaumont, Belfort and entered Switzerland at Basel, arriving in Vienna Friday afternoon three hours late.

VIENNA A DEAD CITY

I USED every atom of daylight to view the country, and all that could be seen, from Paris to Vienna, appeared like a dream to me. Everything was beautiful and everybody extremely busy. Switzerland especially so. Its railway equipment was in apparent excellent order—the French rolling stock was poor. The Austrian locomotives were in bad shape but of splendid type. I rode on a magnificent "Reversed Pacific" type locomotive; a four-wheel truck under the firebox, three pairs of drivers and a pony truck leading.

Vienna is the deadest city on the face of the globe, but I saw very little poverty. In fact, these people seem to have the faculty of getting along, and rather resent outside interference. We left Vienna and crossed into Czecho-Slovakia, but, before reaching Cracow, branched off to the north to Warsaw, through Czestochowa.

Telegraphic arrangements had been made through the American Minister for our party to meet the Polish Finance Minister immediately upon our arrival. We therefore left all our belongings in our car, and hustled with the bonds to the office of the Finance Minister. After a short parley, the signing of the bonds began and I do not believe the Minister ever worked so hard before. It was a quarter past five when the signing of the bonds had been completed and then stamped and delivered. I decided to go to Danzig that evening, if it could be arranged, and look into

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affairs there, so called on Colonel Barber who placed at my disposal his interpreter and also the entire machinery of the Railway Commission.

We arrived in Danzig without mishap, about 9 o'clock in the morning. We went to the Government Naval Yard and saw the locomotives in course of erection. A number of men were working even though it was Sunday.

WHERE THE U-BOATS WERE BUILT

DANZIG is a wonderful city, and the shipyards there are huge. It was here that the Germans built most of their submarines. A large new steamer called the *Columbus,* a sister ship of the *George Washington* built for the Hamburg-American Line, has been standing here ever since the war. I understand America is to get her. The Yard is now being operated by the City Government. They found it necessary to take it over from the Germans immediately after the signing of the Armistice, in order that the 10,000 or more workmen would not be thrown out of employment, as the Germans were determined to shut it down. They are now principally engaged in building fishing steamers, also steel barges for traffic on the Vistula river and also in cutting up for scrap a number of German battleships.

The women here are beautiful, possessing lovely complexions. The British are in command of the city. The whole place is bubbling and boiling with revolution. A demonstration was made the day before our arrival by 50,000 workmen, but the English seem to have a firm grip. The French and Germans also have battalions here, but the English are in control. There is liable to be trouble here at any time and, in my judgment, it would have been far better to give the Free City of Danzig to Poland in the beginning, and to have fought it out on that line.

Left Danzig Sunday evening for Warsaw. The entire country is under cultivation, the people are working with the tools they have, and they seem to have all varieties of farm instruments. And at one place where the farmer had no wagon to haul fertilizer out to his fields, he had the whole

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family provided with bags, and they were carrying it in these bags and dumping it on the fields. So with determination of this kind on the part of the Polish farmer, there is no need to worry about the Poles not being able to help themselves and get along.

WARSAW AND THE POLES

ARRIVING in Warsaw at noon, I called on the American Minister, Hon. Hugh Gibson, and suggested that he make me a courier, and give me a courier's bag in which to put the bonds so no custom officer could interfere with them, which he very obligingly agreed to do. Therefore in a few minutes I became a servant of the United States Government attached to the American Embassy in Poland. I was also able to secure a military pass into Roumania from the Roumanian military authorities Arrangements had been made during the day to attach our car to a train leaving at 10:30 that night, scheduled to arrive in Bucharest Thursday morning.

We left Warsaw with the good wishes of everybody, and remaining at Cracow only one-half hour, on March 30th arrived in Lemburg about six. Found we were due to leave at eleven, so we started to see the town. By the time we reached the center of the town I was through with it. If this summer passes without leaving pestilence in Lemburg it will only be by the grace of God.

We have just passed the border between Poland and Roumania. At every station since we left Warsaw the most terrible scenes have been witnessed. People are traveling in great numbers, and the would-be travelers are at least ten times the capacity of that which the railway conveyances can properly care for. This necessitates the crowding of human beings into cars, without any opportunity to sit down, but they must stand on their feet until they reach their journey's end. It is impossible for these people to get out at any way station because if they did they would never be able to get in again, so the rule is once in, stay in, no matter what happens, until you reach your destination. The roadbed is in excellent condition and the rails are good. The

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bridges destroyed by the Russians have been replaced, as well as the stations which were blown up. This is especially true at Przemysl. You will remember that at this place the most severe fighting occurred, and when this stronghold fell the whole world thought the war would soon come to an end, as the enemy had received a solar plexus from which it never would recover; but notwithstanding the Russian army advance to Cracow it did not have the courage to enter the city, which it could easily have done, as only a handful of soldiers held the city. This, of course, the Russians did not know.

The devastation done here is different from that in France. Apparently everything that was movable was removed. The buildings, however, were not so badly shot up as in France. The people are all here and I have concluded, as far as my observations have gone, that the sooner the various soup societies and relief agencies of all descriptions can be taken out of the country the sooner the people will get to their feet. The large majority, apparently, resent this interference with their affairs, and from what I see these people are not fools, but are level-headed, hard-thinking people who know their own affairs much better than we do, and can administer themselves in a manner that will secure tranquillity and prosperity in the shortest possible time.

WHAT ROUMANIA NEEDS MOST

WE were detained a very long time at the border between Poland and Roumania. It requires more chattering here than in America to get things done, but we finally got started and, after a rather uneventful trip, landed in Czernowitz about noon. I left the car to inspect the city, which is a wonderful old town high up on hills, and not quite so dirty as Lemburg.

The Manager of the Railway Administration office could speak English. He discussed Roumanian affairs with me, and was a very obliging and most intelligent gentleman. He said no greater thing could be done for Roumania than to provide locomotives. Without locomotives

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he did not see how Roumania could prosper. They had just commenced to run a daily passenger train between Czernowitz and Bucharest. He also explained that although the train was scheduled to get to Bucharest Thursday morning, some delay might occur and that it might not arrive until late in the evening.

The road out of Czernowitz is very steep, requiring a pusher locomotive to get the passenger trains up the hills. And talk about passenger trains—Ye Gods! No one in America without seeing this train in which we are riding can ever have a proper conception of what it is like. We regret that we do not have a photograph with us, as the picture would do more, in my judgment, to induce the United States Government to lend these people locomotives, and not money, in order that at least the human freight in this land may be hauled in decency and safety. There seems to be an abundance of cars, there must be at least seventy per cent of all the locomotives in Roumania awaiting repair; and the majority of those running are unfit for service.

The cars are not only jammed with every human being that can be stood up in them, but the platforms between cars, where they exist, are crowded, and where these platforms do not exist the people crowd (men and women alike) between the ends of the cars, with their feet in the buffers; and in some manner—God only knows how—a seething mass of humanity fills the space on the roof!

When we awoke this morning we undertook to find out where we were and discovered that during the whole night we had gone only about 90 kilometers, or 60 miles, which is at the rate of 10 kilometers an hour. This, of course, did not look like "Bucharest in the evening," as Bucharest is 550 kilometers from Czernowitz. At 10 o'clock we reached Pascani, which is the railroad division point, and equipped principally with locomotives out of repair.

The fun began at this point. At Toman, 190 kilometers from Czernowitz, it began to get in shape; the passengers took to the roofs of the cars and before long every square

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foot of the space up there was occupied by human beings. However, this did not reduce the congestion inside the car, or on the steps running along the cars.

BUCHAREST TO BELGRADE

ABOUT 5 o'clock Friday morning, April 2d, our train pulled into Bucharest having been about six hours making the last twenty-five kilometers. I cannot say too much in favor of the present Ministry. They are all solid, substantial men and appreciate sincerely our coming to Roumania. The English Government has representatives here moving heaven and earth to obtain locomotives orders. It is now possible they will order 300 locomotives provided the British will submit to their terms of payment. The present Ministry is determined to make connection not only with England, but the great world beyond the seas—the nation known as the United States of America.

The ride out of Bucharest was very fine. I never rode a smoother riding engine. Of course, we seldom made over 60 kilometers an hour, but she rode like a Pullman car, rather dirty, not because she made smoke or soot, but because it had been some time since anybody had wiped her off, but she was a good old horse and I was pleased with her. The road-bed was in perfect order. In fact, all the road-beds throughout this country are in excellent order.

After leaving Craivo, which is the most southern point we reached in Roumania, our course was then struck over Roumanian territory in a northeasterly direction. A slight improvement in the condition of things was noticeable. Ruins were on either hand due to the occupation by the Germans.

Early Thursday morning we crossed the Tiaza river, beautiful and rather swift, which flows down from the north and enters the Danube about 50 kilometers above Belgrade. Crossing the river we turned into the city of Szegedin. It is here that we reversed our course. Instead of going on the main line to Budapest, almost due north, we turned to the southwest. The country between Szegedin, which formerly belonged to Hungary, and Szabadka was perfectly

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wonderful; in fact Lancaster county has nothing on this country. It was under the most intensive cultivation and apparently was owned by the peasants themselves. Everything seemed to be in perfect order, the houses were whitewashed and the people apparently happy.

After we left Szabadka and until we reached Zombor the farming became more extensive, thousands and thousands of acres in stretches being beautifully cultivated, well drained, and did not appear to have suffered from the excessive water which has fallen in this district for the past several months.

We crossed the Danube at Dalja, but without moment. It must be understood that the railroads in this country do not pass through the towns and cities. The towns have been here for centuries but the railroads are rather new and merely touch the outside edges. In some places the railroad station is two or three miles from the town which they serve, consequently the roads are much straighter than in America where the towns have followed the railroads.

We arrived in Vinkovci about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Our train came along in time to enable us to leave about 6 o'clock. It being dark, we could not see the country between Vinkovci and Belgrade at which place we arrived about eleven. We had all gone to bed, and, therefore, did not see Belgrade until early morning.

About 3 o'clock I called at the office of the American Technical Mission. This Mission is in the employ of the Serbian Government and was arranged by Mr. Hoover. The money is paid to them by the United States and they have to pay all their own expenses here except traveling expenses, which are borne by the Serbian Government. Colonel Atwood had returned and I found him a very lovely and attractive gentleman, a square-shouldered, level-headed gentleman and a practical railroad man, having been connected with the New York Central prior to entering the service. I discussed the Serbian situation with him and he told me he had been away on an inspection trip looking over the entire situation and had gone into Austria to see

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what could be accomplished there in the way of having their locomotives repaired. He said he was very much discouraged and felt the Serbians must buy locomotives at once or they would fall down during the coming winter in distributing supplies, and making export shipments. He told me the Serbs as fast as they returned from service in the army were immediately occupying their fields and they were very industrious and cheerful and very loyal to their country; that the motive power had all been run down and a very small percentage of the total number of locomotives was fit for service; that the repair shops were poorly managed; that the principal officers had been Germans and Austrians and had gone leaving matters in the hands of the Serbs who remained. He also told me he had felt all along that by getting their locomotives repaired they could work out, but in Vienna he found large workshops without men, and worse still, without any material to work with. They told him it was absolutely impossible to get anything done there. He was successful, however, in inducing one rolling mill to start up and roll some copper plates, and also draw some copper tubes, and he proposed to furnish scrap material from Serbia for them to work over for the Serbs account.

The Serbs are shipping foodstuffs into Austria to keep them alive; in fact, from all I can gather Austria and Hungary are the only countries in difficulty regarding food, but that the crops there will soon be available provided transportation service can distribute the food through the affected districts. The cities of Vienna and Budapest are the worst sufferers. In Belgrade there seems to be an abundance of food and I am told the food supply is all that could be desired excepting in the extreme southern part of Serbia, where, owing to meagre transportation facilities, it is impossible to take the food from the north. It is generally believed these people have a great deal more grain than they think they have; owing to the incomplete census of the stores on hand, the resources are thought to be somewhat underrated. Everybody, however, feels contented owing to the

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fact that the country is improving rapidly and no matter what the quantity of stores now may be, they will continue to increase.

SERBIA'S WONDERFUL RESOURCES

THIS country has wonderful resources. They have very large mineral formations south of Belgrade, and large deposits of chrome are found, but the most valuable are the iron ore deposits in Bosnia. French and English syndicates are endeavoring to gain concessions, but the Serbian Government is firm that a steel plant must be established in Serbia. An effort is now being arranged to build a small steel mill to satisfy the Serbians, and enable them to take large quantities of ore out of the country. This ore runs about sixty-three per cent iron and is very low in phosphorus. The British estimate these mines, if an exclusive right could be obtained, would be worth in the aggregate 500,000,000 pounds sterling.

There is an immense amount of business to be done in this country by people in trade, but there is practically no business to be done at the present time in cash. It is my opinion that those who transact business with these people at this time in exchange for their commodities, within the next few years will enjoy the cash trade of all these countries, as they will soon be very rich from their natural resources.

This morning we were awake early, crossing the frontier into Italy. The country was different, being quite rocky and picturesque. In a short while we were within sight of the Adriatic and found we were riding over the territory much disputed by the Italians and Austrians during the late war. The ride along the Adriatic into Trieste was beautiful. The railroad was high up on the hillside while the Adriatic stretched forth before us, like a mirror, in the distance.

We remained in Trieste only long enough to see the inside of the station, and then retraced our steps and returned for a short distance, in the same direction in which we had entered Trieste, and then turned to the left along

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the edge of the sea to Venice. The ride to Venice was most delightful, and on every hand remained evidence of the terrific campaign which had been made by the Italians against the Austrians. Hundreds of tons of barbed wire were still around and miles of entanglements were still on the hills, especially was this true on the battlefields of Montfalcone. This, however, gradually dwindled away until our arrival in Venice, where all traces of battlefields were lost.

ITALY PICTURESQUE AND PROSPEROUS

AFTER leaving Venice we traveled through Northern Italy, through many of its towns such as Verano, Brescia, etc., and then arrived at Milan one hour and fifteen minutes late to the schedule, having made up two hours since leaving Vinkovci.

The country through which we passed was most picturesque, especially along the shores of Lake Garde, around which we passed shortly after leaving Venice. The difference in the condition of the railways is most noticeable after entering Italy. Their locomotives and cars are in splendid order; in fact, much better than I have seen on any roads in Europe. The track is in excellent shape; the ballast is good, and at a speed of sixty miles an hour the cars ride splendidly. There is no evidence, however, of any great amount of manufacturing going on; but it is a good sign to note that there is not the same desire to travel here as farther east. This is no doubt due to the fact that they have more trains, and can accommodate their people much better, than in those countries where motive power is at a premium.

The north of Italy is beautiful; the stations are clean, and the people look well fed, and well clothed and are of a very fine sort. If it were not for the tremendous lack of raw material in Europe today, I think the recovery here would be very rapid, and if only credit were advanced to these people for the purchase of such manufacturing supplies and machinery as they need, they would soon get firmly on their feet.

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We arrived at the Italian end of the Simplon tunnel about 11 o'clock and it was midnight before the custom-house officials got through examining the passports.

The ride from Dijon toward Paris is an up-hill matter. For miles and miles we went up hill, crossing over what I think must be the tail end of some mountain range, although the hills were cultivated as far as the eye could reach. The bridges were magnificent and some of them were very high up from the ground, on which they were raising grain below us. Arriving in Paris, Mr. Bockius took charge of the caravan, while Mr. Vallambrosa and myself took the courier pouches and went to the office of the United States Minister.

The one thing needed in Europe today above all others is transportation and they have everything here today except the locomotives. We all noticed the improvement in the situation in France, during the three weeks we have been absent, and the improvement is the same in other countries through which we have passed. In Germany, Austria and Hungary I am told the situation is much less promising, but that no capital is inclined to interest itself in these countries owing to the danger of seizure of their belongings by the Reparation Committee, as I am told everything found in these countries, regardless of ownership, is liable for seizure for reparation purposes.

My observance during this trip over the entire eastern section of Europe leads me to believe it will take much longer than two or three years before these people will be able to take care of their own work.

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WHERE THE TAXES SHOULD BE PLACED

A Solution of Our Vexatious Taxation Problem

By CHARLES E. LORD

EVER since the days of John Law the bubble has been the symbol of unsound finance. There is a bubble at this present time floating before the eyes of every citizen of the United States, more dangerous and as specious as that which was blown by the adventurer of old for his Mississippi scheme. It is a film filled with false hope, and masquerades in the imitation hues of the rainbow of promise.

In our national scheme of taxation it is known as a tax on profits and income. It is really a tax on endeavor and risk. Under the guise of taxing the rich, it holds forth the promise of letting citizens of moderate means go free and avoiding a burden on the consumer. It was wafted into the air originally on the wings of the wind. Devised as a means of cutting down what legislators believed would be excessive profits from dealing in war supplies, it was gradually accepted as a means of collecting the national revenue. Politicians, with their ears close to the ground, proclaimed the excess-profits tax as a true guide over the marshes and fens of troubled finance. It has proven a will-o'-the-wisp and done none of those things which its advocates proclaimed so loudly that it would accomplish.

The excess-profits tax, which is now being assailed from so many quarters, has not relieved the people of the United States from any of the burdens which were supposed to have been borne by the wealthy. It is now admitted in official circles that the present high prices of the necessities of life are due largely to the extra costs which have been loaded upon them by the present method of Federal taxation. The

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average citizen finds that the shoe is pinching. It is a $14.00, or it may be an $18.00 shoe. The cost of living, including that of food and the ordinary commodities, has more than doubled since the beginning of the European War. The economists tell us that the purchasing power of a dollar has been cut in half, and we are told of a decrease in production.

TAXES TO BLAME FOR HIGH PRICES

IT is dawning upon the average citizen, however, that a major contributing cause of the present exalted high prices and the high cost of living is in our system of Federal taxation.

Whether that taxation takes the form of excess profits on corporations or the heavy surtaxes on incomes of individuals, it is constantly being shifted from one shoulder to another. It does not rest where it falls, but is evaded by various processes until the weight of the fabric rests at last upon the ultimate consumer. The specious values and the camouflaged methods of the present system of taxation are therefore largely responsible for the conditions of which all classes of citizens are complaining.

The weakness of this form of Federal taxation is the weakness of the soap-bubble. The moment that we bring this tax out of the air, it is likely to burst upon the cold, hard surface of fact. It is undetermined and indefinite in character and largely dependent for its revenue on an inflated condition.

At present, merchants and manufacturers are doing business on an inflated basis and are made subject to unusual risks. They must, therefore, have in hand larger reserves than they would need under normal conditions, so that they may remain solvent in that period of deflation to which all are looking forward. How much that requires cannot be definitely known. Taxes increase in proportion to the profits. The tendency to load prices unduly is always present.

For a limited period such taxation has brought the Government a considerable revenue. This may hold good for

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a year or two, but the whole problem rests upon variable and intangible equations which have to do with profits and income. In times of business depression the revenue will disappear.

It is apparent that it is an obstacle in the path of enterprise. No man is willing to enter into a new and untried undertaking unless there is a chance for a profit which more than offsets the risk. He knows that at present, if there is a high profit, the Government takes perhaps half of it in taxes, while, if the venture is unsuccessful, he must bear all the loss himself.

The present system penalizes initiative. It attempts to tax endeavor for the purpose of rewarding those who do not make endeavor. It is a drag on the development of our natural resources, for the very reason that it tends to discourage the individual in the development of whatever property he may possess. For example, a man who bought timber land a few years ago may now find that he has standing timber which, if cut, would bring several times the sum which he paid for the land. He cannot cut down his trees, however, without paying a large part of the profit to the Government. If he lets them stand, he has no profits tax to pay. In view of the serious situation which has arisen with regard to housing in this country, a law which obstructs the providing of building material is unfortunate.

Not only does the excess-profits tax, as it stands, act as a bar to real progress, but at the same time it encourages extravagance in business conduct and introduces wasteful methods and unnecessary expense in our commercial life. If money is saved by care, in these matters, it is largely taken up in taxes. Therefore, careful management no longer reaps its customary reward.

AN UN-AMERICAN SYSTEM

A FURTHER fault of the existing system is that it drives men with large incomes into investing in tax-exempt securities so as to escape the high surtaxes. Thus, the buying of municipal bonds and like securities on a large scale is diverting capital from necessary productive enter-

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prises into channels where only further waste and extravagance is being created, while rapidly increasing surtaxes on all but the most moderate incomes prevent the accumulation of savings which, ordinarily, are available for investment for the further expansion of productive enterprises.

Even if the system of taxation now in vogue were effective, it would have to face the criticism of its clumsiness and of the many difficulties which attend the collection of the Government imposts. It is a tremendous expense both to the Government and the taxpayer, for it withdraws from productive enterprise tens of thousands of clerks and accountants employed by the Treasury Department and by the corporations and business men taxed. The salaries of these accountants and collectors amount to many millions of dollars a year, and for such a vast expenditure there is practically nothing to show.

On the whole the system now employed is un-American in principle in that it seeks to make one citizen pay more proportionately than his neighbor and so creates special privilege. Is it not, therefore, high time to promptly discard a theory of taxation which is so uncertain and works so many evil results, and to seek a method which will be surer in its incidence, more equitable in its operation, simpler in its collection and one which will tend to lower the cost of living and which will rest where it is intended to fall?

TAXING THE SPENDER THE SOLUTION

HOW may such a way be found? As soon as we begin to tax what people spend, instead of what they save, we are on the right road. The physical activities of the world are reflected in buying and selling. From time immemorial, the simple operations of trade have been conducted and they are likely to continue until the end of the chapter. If we tax sales, we are certainly taxing something more substantial than such variables as profits and income. At the same time, we will lift the burden which is stifling progress; check the tendency of capital to invest in tax-

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exempt securities and turn it into the channels of productive enterprise.

From all parts of the country has come an overwhelming endorsement of the tax on sales. Such a measure would consist in placing a definite tax of one per cent on all sales of commodities which would in effect be a tax of three per cent before commodities reach the consumer through the hands of the producer and the jobber. As a matter of fact, Government experts have admitted that present prices are loaded with at least twenty-five per cent on account of the excess profits tax. This is a very conservative estimate indeed, for, as Mr. William B. Colver, the Federal Trade Commissioner, said, the corner-stone of the existing intolerable price structure is in the present excess profits tax. Under a sales-tax the load of twenty-five per cent should chiefly and rapidly disappear and be replaced by a load of three per cent.

There is logic in this situation that appeals to all. The laboring man and the farmer are no longer to be deluged by the special pleader who would make it appear that the present legislation imposes the burden upon the rich alone. The farmers, for instance, as heavy consumers of many commodities, are heavily taxed, although indirectly, upon their supplies, upon their tools, implements and utensils, upon their clothes, and shoes. Upon them, as well as the laboring man, and upon many others, prices are being pyramided by the operation of the peaks formed by the taxing of profits.

HOW A TAX ON SALES WOULD WORK

UNDER the operation of a tax of one per cent on sales, the farmer should buy his implements, his clothes, his hats and his shoes for much less than at present. His food, of his own producing, would not even come under the operation of the tax. When he sells his wheat or his cotton, or whatever his product may be, he will sell it at the market price at the time of sale, and add one per cent tax to the bill. Under such a system, instead of the producer being taxed, he is relieved of his present burden which he now mistakenly thinks has been placed upon some other

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man's shoulders. Nothing could be simpler in its methods of collection than such a tax as this, for the record of it would automatically appear on the books of the vendor, and all vendors of a class above street peddlers would be obliged to keep a record of sales.

We have then a new method of Federal taxation, now under favorable consideration, which provides for an equitable adjustment between the two principles of consumption taxation and income taxation.

In the case of a sales-tax, a small consumption tax is levied, resting equitably and fairly upon all, each paying upon what he consumes—the small consumer little, and the large consumer and buyer of luxuries much.

The income tax principle is recognized by a straight normal tax upon all income of individuals and corporations beyond an exemption which relieves the man of small income of all taxes except the operation of the sales-tax.

Authorities have calculated that this method of taxation together with certain excise taxes, such as the present tobacco tax, Custom House duties on imports (which are now growing), and possibly surtaxes on certain classes of incomes that can be defined as unearned income, would provide a revenue of more than $4,000,000,000 a year, sufficient to meet the needs of the Government if a reasonable degree of economy is exercised at Washington.

Its advocates believe that the people of the United States will approve a method (1) that places a definite normal tax on all incomes above exemption; (2) an additional and increasing tax upon unearned income; and (3) a small tax of one per cent on the turnover of commodities from producer to consumer which will spread out so thin that its effect upon the cost of any one article will be scarcely noticeable, thus placing the heavy load of post-war taxation so that it will fall equitably; avoid dislocating industry; tend to deflate prices; define definitely the taxpayer's liability; promote thrift in contrast to present extravagance; lift the burden of back debt from the taxpayer and stop much of the necessity for borrowing by the government.

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Such taxes will be what they appear to be; will rest where they are intended to rest; will not lend themselves to concealment or loading, and will turn into the Treasury the amount collected from the people, not as at present a percentage of the amount collected from the consumer, while the rest goes to increase profits of various individuals and corporations.

THE GREAT TREES OF CALIFORNIA

By J. CORSON MILLER

LIFE'S panoramic film moves fiercely on
Before these lordly giants of the West;
Here flow the mightiest veins in Nature's breast—
These ancient eyes have marked the dusk and dawn
Through floods o' years; empires have come and gone
From bloom to dust; these trees, like babes undrest,
Have laughed at earthquakes; they have stood Time's test,
When gods' and Titan battle-lines were drawn.

Peace, War and Science, Art—the world's debates,—
Death's toll—all passed like withered leaves that fly;
And Love, borne on bright wings to Heaven's gates,
And Beauty's sad, immortal hunger-cry.
For Nature made them memorable mates
Of stars, whose smiles are centuries of sky.

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TEACHING THE WOMAN VOTER POLITICS

The Rapid Growth of a New Idea

By ESTHER EVERETT LAPE

[*Chairman, Committee on American Citizenship, New York State League of (Non-partisan) Women Voters*]

WOMEN voters have a sufficiently sound appreciation of the fact that they are necessarily a disturbing element to the political parties and to the political life of the country generally. But nobody can accuse the women themselves of taking frivolously the entrance of some 28,000,000 new voters into the body politic and into the voting lists. They have set out to educate themselves and their neighbors with a zeal and a thoroughness heretofore unknown in this cause. Even in those States where women had very little interest in suffrage and where the vote now comes to many women who scarcely desired it, the movement to educate new women voters goes forward with marked zeal.

I have read dozens, hundreds, of letters from inquiring women voters all over the country. On the basis of these it is perfectly safe to formulate half a dozen distinct kinds of things which the women voters throughout the country are set on knowing: First of all, they want to know all there is to know about the mechanics of voting, what to do and how to do it; that means knowing the election law of their particular State and how it works out in practise. Secondly, they want a detailed knowledge of their State government and county or city or town or village government. But they want to see their State and local government not in their text-book array but in their working-day clothes; they want a kind of humanized "civil government,"

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not the kind they had in high school or college (if indeed they ever had any) but the kind that will show them how they can get a bill through the State Legislature or the city council—something which does not get into the text-books and which the professors rarely know.

Thirdly, they want to know just how far government goes, how much you can do by legislation. Are its possibilities infinite? Has the Federal Government anything intimate to do with the problems that beset the working life and the home? That, after all, is exactly the question which the American business man and the industrial worker have also been asking for years. They want, fourthly, very complete information about the candidates they are going to vote for. They are much more interested in this than men voters ever were. The party label is apparently not enough to put the candidate over with them. They show a fatal tendency (from the ladies' point of view) to vote for the man instead of for the party—a natural fault, perhaps, in new and undisciplined voters.

Fifthly, they want and they demand most exactingly a knowledge of the parties, not only their history and their "traditions" but their present day stand on this or that. They want help in deciding the great question as to how far their party loyalty shall go, thus showing a tendency to be theoretical politicians, and in this regard the practical politicians have always been the more comfortable. Lastly, and most important of all in their estimation, they want information about the current social and industrial and governmental problems which governments and legislatures and office-holders generally have any chance whatever to solve.

THOROUGH-GOING EDUCATIONAL WORK

THE women themselves have done most to supply the information demanded upon all these matters. They have done so through both partisan and non-partisan or all-partisan activities. The Women's Divisions of both the Democratic and Republican National Committees have in addition to their party organization work undertaken the

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task of political education to some extent. More thorough-going work has been done by the women's State committees in all the parties. The chief non-partisan or all-partisan source of political information has been the National League of Women Voters (which succeeds the National American Woman Suffrage Association) and the various State Leagues affiliated with it.

The material issued by the women's committees of the political parties seems to cover everything from "What a woman can do in her election district" to most profound data on the high cost of living, the budget, war waste, etc. (according to party). Quite aside from the material issued by the *women's* party committees, it seems at least possible that the demands of the new women voters have had a real effect on this year's campaign literature. For one thing, the campaign literature "came on" much earlier this year than in most Presidential years. The *pièce de resistance,* the "Campaign Text Book," a thick oblong fine print pocket-width volume, hitherto came along around the end of July or the first of August—in time for the early fall speakers. It bulged with the history of the party and its platforms, and analyses of the issues. The platforms of the rival major party were there, too, of course, with an enumeration of its "broken planks," and inordinate extravagance and outstanding incompetence. This "text-book" was usually the first appearance—for the season—for all this data. But this year the women were calling for the history of the party early in the spring.

Some of the material issued to women voters by the women's party committees has been distinctly non-partisan in character, designed simply to show women how to function politically at all. But this non-partisan quality naturally does not characterize any of the party material explaining issues or candidates. True, it is difficult to see how it would work out practically to have a party committee give its readers both sides of all questions with judicial calm and philosophic scrupulousness. But the fact that the parties cannot do this does weaken their power right now to minister to the great group of new women voters who honestly

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want to know the why and the wherefore of the great governmental and social and industrial problems that constitute our "issues." Perhaps some day we may work out some way of getting such material "without editorial comment" or partisan editing. We have bi-partisan election boards now. We might try all-partisan boards for giving out information to voters. But they might merely bring about the kind of situation that arises in a court case where there are so many sides and so many alert lawyers that it is difficult to get anything at all admitted into the evidence. Dates and names would become the only questions of fact; all the rest would be questions of opinion, sure to meet "I object" from some alert opponent on the Board of Censors.

New women voters are repelled by the awful completeness with which all the ills under which mankind labors are, and have been from time immemorial, laid at the door of the opposing party. An inquiring—but intelligent—woman voter picked up for study a leaflet sent her by her party on "The High Cost of Living—and Who is to Blame." She was much interested in the "High Cost of Living" part; but her confidence in the document was visibly shaken when she came to the "Who is to blame" part. "Why," she said, "you can't tell us housekeepers that food hasn't been going right up under both parties!" No information got up chiefly for the purpose of "fixing the blame" is likely to be entirely unbiased. Information—like salvation—"am free"—from any responsibility to the party or to anything in the world except the truth. As one new women voter wrote in the other day, "The data one receives from partisan sources one takes with a grain of salt."

WORK OF WOMEN'S PARTY COMMITTEES

THE amazing thing at present is that the women's Republican and Democratic and other party committees in State and nation have done as much as they have in supplying individual voters with non-partisan information on government and the mechanics of voting. The Democratic women of Illinois, for example, have published a very com-

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plete and excellent "Outline for the Study of American Government, including the government of Illinois." It ranges from Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill to modern party theory. The Maine Republican women have made for Maine women voters a compilation of the election law of that State—a very practical and non-partisan service.

Most of the party committees realize that the rank and file of women voters want to know a very great deal about the parties—and the real differences between them. Their curiosity in this respect is far from satisfied by what they have received thus far. The continual dwelling upon ancient history, upon Thomas Jefferson, on the one hand, and Abraham Lincoln on the other, makes them impatient in this day of many pressing problems. Leaders in the major parties have feared the influence of new minority parties with the new women voters. These minority parties, having little or no "organization," stress their propaganda and their protest. They seem sure of their ideas; and therein lies their strength with the woman voter. Party regularity for its own sake has very little appeal to the rank and file of women voters. For this reason, doubtless, the women's committees in the State party organizations lay a good deal of stress upon showing women just why they should enroll in parties and just how futile the "independent vote" is. Writes a woman leader from Missouri (literally): "We have many women in this State who seem to feel that they can trust no party. These political independents are on our political conscience. We are girding our loins and declaring 'open season' for every non-partisan vote in the State."

A good example of the arguments brought to bear by the educational leaflets of the women's State committees on this point is the following from Illinois: "Vote for the best party, not the best man. The voter who will not join a party but who claims the right to pick candidates from any or all parties and to vote for 'the best man' blocks the machinery of government. The men that he picks will not work together. You cannot move an engine unless the wheels are all turning in one direction." It has a Q. E. D.

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air; but many women voters feel that it assumes rather than proves what they want to know.

This "group action" argument is applied somewhat less dogmatically by the New York State women who in a series of ten leaflets have essayed a gentler and more philosophic approach: the political party, they say, is a necessary piece of machinery; it is an "obstacle to despotism by the presence of recognized opposition"; it is a "means of crystallizing public opinion by framing issues for popular verdict." They further make the attractive point that the political party in this country acts as "a great unifying agency," drawing widely separated States together, breaking up local hostilities and making "a national bond of union."

The truth is that a great deal of philosophy and a great many devices appear to be necessary in educating women voters all over the country on this matter of party regularity. A Western woman of importance was recently asked to write her views under the general heading "Why Join a Party?" in order to influence other hesitating sisters. The pamphlet she wrote begins: "Neither party is what it ought to be, always promising everything and carrying out nothing, each one corrupt and extravagant in its management." We think the Board of Censors could hardly have been sitting when this pamphlet got into print as a part of the propaganda for getting women into the parties.

One of the New York women's efforts in the same direction reads:

> "Even granting that everything is as bad as the 'independent' woman voter says it is, what good would it do to mourn about it in solitary state? When it comes time for spring house-cleaning, what good would it do to stand on the outside of your house with a broom and a pail of clean hot soapsuds in your hands, call the house all kinds of names because it is full of dust, cobwebs and moths accumulated during the winter months and then walk disdainfully down the block to the empty corner lot and start to build a new house? Why not roll up your sleeves, walk right up your own front steps into your own front door and get to work?
>
> "Suppose you do find a door locked with a 'busy' sign on it? The man of the house does hate to have his papers all disarranged or rearranged—we know that. Clean the rooms that are open to you and be patient. Come on home where you belong, and don't forget to bring your soapsuds with you. Out in the vacant lot it seems

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cleaner and the air seems freer, but there are NO SUSTAINING WALLS, there is NO FOUNDATION.

"Stay at home, get into your denims and GET BUSY."

WHAT WOMEN MOST WANT TO KNOW

BUT this question of whether to enroll in a party at all is not the party question upon which women most want enlightenment. What they want to know is this: Having enrolled in a party, how far must they be controlled by the party? They find so many doors locked, so many "busy" signs, that they do not quite see how they are ever to get far enough inside to get any chance *at all* to apply those nice hot soapsuds. You cannot blame them for being confused. A few weeks ago I heard a man who is considered a very liberal and enlightened member of one of the major parties address a group of women on this subject of party loyalty. He distinctly advised them, if there ever came a time when they could not subscribe to all a party's positions or accept all its candidates to make a "public confession" of the fact and resign from the party. I will say for the women that they laughed.

It is not enough to urge the women to "get down to work in the election district and forget this theorizing on parties." A less arbitrary policy of party education is needed, and at present there is not enough of it. Here, however, is another leaflet of a more promising nature in which a woman leader—in very good party standing—urges her sisters thus:

> "The fact that you enroll in a party in no way *binds* you to the policies and platform, nor to vote for its candidates. Enroll, but do not in so doing cease to let your influence and personality be felt. If —after you have done your utmost—you feel that your party does not stand for what you think it should and that another party does, cast your vote there."

The old-school politician objects that these suggestions are simply "the copy-book maxims of the professional reformer and can never lead to practical results." Not unless they become the working principles of a large number of interested voters. But it looks as if they might!

Another new idea sponsored by women voters is the idea that the rank and file of voters had better keep themselves

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informed on current legislation—about what bills have been introduced in their State Legislature or in Congress, what action is being taken on them and how their own representatives are voting in the roll call. The New York State League of Women Voters prints during the session of the New York State Legislature a legislative news bulletin under the title "City-State-Nation." It gives—without any editorial comment whatever—a digest of the most important bills introduced or considered or passed during the current week in the State Legislature, in Congress, or in the New York City governing boards. The bulletin is used by many study clubs and individuals, and numbers among its subscribers not a few men of business and finance. It keeps voters informed of the status of measures so that they can bring pressure to bear for or against them at just the right stage.

Obviously the theory behind the bulletin is that the individual voter can and should do her own studying and thinking to a very large degree. The new women voters in their various civic organizations are continually being asked to "endorse" or bring pressure to bear for this or that legislation. How, they ask, can they intelligently and effectively endorse bills they do not know? They are urged to tackle them and to forsake the ancient fallacy that "only lawyers can understand bills." It is true enough of some bills, heaven knows! Massachusetts women issue a like legislative bulletin, covering the work of the State Legislature only. In a number of States the women voters definitely and regularly follow national and State legislation, if in no other way then by a special vigilance committee reporting back to their membership.

EDUCATION ANENT NEEDED LEGISLATION

PERHAPS the most intensive and extensive of the women voters' educational activities has been directed toward educating women in the great public questions upon which they most want State and federal legislation. A good deal of criticism was directed at the old suffrage associations for continuing their existence after the vote was

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won, or so nearly won, all over the country. Even after they had shown that they did not want a "woman's party"—that being about the last thing they did want, after having been "auxiliaries" for so many years and after having struggled so long to win the opportunity to vote in political organizations *with* men—even after this ghost was laid the women had a good deal of explaining to do as to why they kept organized at all. Their form of organization, however, soon showed their purpose—to formulate more clearly the things they most want to use the vote to get. The National League of Women Voters consists of a number of national committees, each charged with studying a given important subject and formulating recommendations for federal and State legislation upon it. Each of these national committees has working with it a State committee in every State. There is a Committee on Child Welfare; a Committee on American Citizenship, concerned chiefly with the removal of adult illiteracy and with bringing about direct citizenship for women—that is, providing that women must individually qualify educationally and otherwise for citizenship, just as men do, and that they shall neither gain nor lose American citizenship by the fact of marriage only. There is a Committee on the Unification of State laws affecting the civil status of women, as for instance divorce, property rights, etc. There is a Committee on Improvement in Election Laws and Methods in the various States; and there is a Committee on the Protection of Women in Industry with its program for the eight-hour day, the minimum wage, equal pay for equal work, etc. While these committees are all working with legislation in mind, and while they have some bills under way, one of their main objects is to educate the rank and file of women voters in the principles underlying all these proposals.

The New York State branch of the League has recently instituted an extensive correspondence course dealing somewhat with government but chiefly with public questions—such as prohibition enforcement, inflation of the currency,* the high cost of living, the property rights of married

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women, the law of citizenship especially as it affects women and children, the eight-hour day and the minimum wage, the philosophy of the major—and the minor—political parties, the social hygiene work of the Federal government, the proposal for a Federal Department of Education instead of the present limited bureau, as contained in the Smith-Towner bill in Congress, the proposal that the Federal government shall aid the States in educating the adult foreign-born and native illiterate, as contained in the Kenyon "Americanization" bill which was passed by the Senate and is pending in the House, and many other studies.

STIMULATING STUDY AND DISCUSSION

THESE papers are not meant to be, and are not, the "last work" upon any one of the subjects covered. They are meant to stimulate discussion and provoke further study among clubs and individuals. They are a further expression of the women voters' theory that it is entirely possible for the rank and file of voters to do their own thinking, to a degree at least, about the matters upon which our representatives vote in State and Federal Legislatures. Just as, in the campaign period, women have been insisting upon the innovation of campaign meetings at which the candidates of *all* parties appear and state their positions, so now they also insist upon applying the open forum idea to the issues as well as to the candidates. This tendency among women voters cannot help having a favorable reaction upon all voters and upon the political life of this country as a whole. What it amounts to is an attempt to put some *content* into politics, to refuse to be satisfied with "organization," to demand an obvious connection between organization and ideas, or indeed between politics and government and the needs and problem of men and women in their daily working lives.

For years the main theme of the "keynote" speeches of our temporary chairmen at conventions, and of our political prophets everywhere, has been an expression of profound

* The "lesson" on this is a reprint of a statement by Frank A. Vanderlip published in THE FORUM, February, 1920.

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faith in the "intelligence and capacity of the average voter." The average voter in the gallery and elsewhere has accepted the soft impeachment without considering whether it had any basis whatever in fact.

To be an intelligent voter is a *job,* it is not a condition or an aspiration or a delusion. Grant the new woman voter the credit of having been the first so to recognize it.

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THE HOPE OF ZION

Practical Steps for Settling and Developing the Jewish Homeland

By A. H. FROMENSON

[*Zionist Organization of America*]

PROBABLY the most important action taken by the recent Zionist convention in New York was in urging Great Britain, as the mandatory power, to open Palestine at once to Jewish immigration. By this resolution the Zionists do not mean to imply that all restrictions should be removed and Palestine flooded immediately with millions of Jews, who for years and especially since the war, when their positions have been acute in Eastern European countries, have been longing to leave for the Holy Land. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the Zionist Commission to Palestine and one of the Zionist Leaders, is of the opinion that Palestine can accommodate six million Jews and that hence the first step is to build at least five thousand houses and then go ahead developing the vast uncultivated spaces of the country. The Commission hopes to settle in Palestine no less than a million Jews within the next year, but to do this must have large funds. It, however, feels confident that the response of the Jewish people will fully justify expectations.

These first million immigrants will all be carefully selected at central points of immigration in each country according to directions sent out from London and Copenhagen, planned as the headquarters of emigration, so that every person going to Palestine will be an economic asset to the upbuilding of the country. There will be a scientific classification of all emigrants, so that the new country will have the benefit of every class of persons required in restoring the Homeland in the most effective manner.

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There is plenty of room in Palestine for millions of additional inhabitants. A land survey made by *Palestine,* official organ of the English Zionist organization, states that only 8 per cent of the land is now cultivated and that there are 2,850,000 uncultivated acres now available where one million Jews can easily maintain themselves without encroaching on the possessions of anyone.

THE JEWISH MAGNA CHARTA

THE Jewish Magna Charta, otherwise known as the Pittsburgh Program, formulated at the Pittsburgh Zionist Convention in 1918, and one of the most important documents in Jewish history, is as follows:

"In 1897 the first Zionist Congress at Basle defined the object of Zionism to be the establishment of a publicly recognized and legally secured homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine. The recent declarations of Great Britain, France, Italy, and others of the allied democratic states have established this public recognition of the Jewish national home as an international fact.

"Therefore we desire to affirm anew the principles which have guided the Zionist movement since its inception, and which were the foundations laid down by our lawgivers and prophets for the ancient Jewish state, and were the inspiration of the living Jewish law embodied in the traditions of two thousand years of exile.

I. Political and civil equality irrespective of race, sex, or faith of all the inhabitants of the land.

II. To insure in the Jewish national home in Palestine equality of opportunity, we favor a policy which with due regard to existing rights shall tend to establish the ownership and control of the land and of all natural resources, and of all public utilities by the whole people.

III. All land owned or controlled by the whole people should be leased on such conditions as will insure the fullest opportunity for development and continuity of possession.

IV. The co-operative principle should be applied as far as feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial undertakings.

V. The fiscal policy shall be framed so as to protect the people from the evils of land speculation and from every other form of financial oppression.

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VI. The system of free public instruction which is to be established should embrace all grades and departments of education.

VII. The medium of public instruction shall be Hebrew, the national language of the Jewish people."

It is interesting to note that Article 1 of this Palestinian Bill of Rights, guaranteeing political and civil equality irrespective of race, sex or faith, was rigidly abided by in the first popular elections ever held in the Holy Land. Every Jew and Jewess in Palestine above the age of twenty was eligible to vote for delegates to the Jewish Constituent Assembly, which meets soon to draft the fundamental law for the Jewish communities of Palestine, and every Jew and Jewess who could speak, read and write Hebrew was eligible as a candidate for delegate. Two women won seats in the assembly, a significant event for the future Jewish government of Palestine.

NO REAL ARAB OPPOSITION

THE recent anti-Zionist demonstrations in Jerusalem, instigated by Arab absentee landlords, who naturally fear the coming of Zionism as it will end their exploitation of the Arab peasants, were not representative of the mass of Arabs, who are friendly to the Jewish settlers in Palestine and are favorable to Zionism and its program. These Arabs appreciate what the development of the land and the progress which will come with a large Jewish immigration mean to them and naturally are in sympathy with the Zionists. Proof of this was shown by a protest sent to Major General Sir Louis J. Bols, Chief Military Administrator in Palestine, against the Jerusalem riots by Arabs representing eighty-two Arab villages. In this protest, the Arabs declared: "There is no danger to public or private interest in Zionist immigration. Our mutual relations with the Zionists will always be guided by justice. We, the undersigned, represent seventy per cent of the population of Palestine and we hereby protest against the declarations and demonstrations of a few men in the cities of Palestine."

The Zionist leaders have always affirmed that a large immigration will not affect the present population of Pales-

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tine and that its rights and properties will be fully protected. Judge Julian W. Mack, president of the Zionist Organization of America, made this policy clear when he declared that when military rule is replaced by a civil administration the doors will then be thrown open primarily for Jewish immigration; but, as the treaty itself proclaims, with full protection of the civil and religious rights of other communities resident in the land. The country must be prepared for the coming of the masses; disease must be eradicated, the hillsides reforested, the waterfalls harnessed and converted into electrical energy, the soil refertilized and irrigated, the highways built, the railway extended, the harbors cleared and deepened, agriculture, commerce and industry established; the land itself in largest measure nationalized, the natural resources and essential public utilities developed and preserved for the whole people. And over and above all, the schools must be maintained and the educational life of Palestine crowned by the great Jewish University.

All these things must be done for the benefit of the entire population of the land, Jew, Arab and Christian alike, in the spirit of the Pittsburgh Platform and the bidding of the social justice as proclaimed by the prophets of Israel.

The same liberal spirit was shown in announcing a gift of $100,000 from Nathan Straus for the foundation of a Medical Research and Health Service of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which Mr. Straus gave in keeping with the spirit of all his benefactions in the past, "to serve all peoples, faiths and races in Palestine, so that Mohammedan, Christian and Jew may be benefited by a service which is to be all-inclusive."

SETTLERS MAY RETAIN THEIR CITIZENSHIP

JUDGE MACK also made clear that Jews, not citizens of Palestine, would retain their civil and political rights in countries of which they were citizens. There cannot be a dual citizenship, Jews who make their homes in Palestine will, like all other inhabitants of that land, Jew and non-Jew alike, be enabled to acquire citizenship there.

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But with the acceptance of the new citizenship, there must be a relinquishment of the old. There can, of course, be no political ties between Jews, citizens of other countries, and those in Palestine, but there will be, as there ever has been, the ties that mark the Jews as a people—a common kinship, a common tradition, a common heritage and a common faith.

The Zionist World Conference, held in London recently, formulated far-reaching plans for Palestine's settlement by Jews, pledging itself to spare no effort or sacrifice in rebuilding Palestine as the Jewish national homeland, in collaboration, of course, with the country's inhabitants.

Steps will be taken for the immediate establishment in Palestine of experimental stations, laboratories and a permanent technical commission of engineers, physicians and other experts, to prepare for the vast reconstruction projects which the Zionists have planned, which will be put into operations when immigration is permitted. Sir Herbert Samuel, former Postmaster General of England and former Secretary for Home Affairs, is the newly appointed High Commissioner to Palestine. He recently headed an English mission to Palestine to report on the financial and economic conditions of the country and, as one of the most influential of British statesmen, in deep sympathy with Zionism, his appointment is a most happy one.

COMMISSIONER SAMUEL'S REPORT ON PALESTINE

A STATEMENT issued by Sir Herbert sheds an illuminating light on Palestine, present and future. The statement was made as a British official, based upon the findings of the inspection trip for which his Government had sent him to Palestine.

He finds the country as a whole undoubtedly underpopulated and undercultivated, but with proper equipment of roads, railways and harbors, its prosperity is capable of great expansion. With modern methods of irrigation and dry farming the question of water supply presents no grave obstacles. Now that the cause of malaria is known and preventive methods established, the great hindrance to

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the well-being of the population of Palestine could be diminished and finally removed with no difficulty. Sir Herbert thinks the water power of the Upper Jordan sufficient to provide adequate electric force for all parts of the country and should enable numbers of industries to be established with success in the towns and villages. In addition a variety of artistic handicrafts could find a home here, and now that railroad communication has been established with Egypt, the tourist traffic will undoubtedly show a great extension.

In his opinion the financial condition of the country is good, the growth of prosperity already bringing increase of revenue without increase in taxation. This will permit construction and rebuilding of roads, development of postal, telegraph and telephone service, and the erection of necessary buildings through loans, and it is the intention to put these enterprises in hand forthwith. The financial prospects of the railroads are satisfactory; further increase in the general revenues of the country should permit a considerable extension to be effected in education and also allow other loans to be contracted for additional public works.

The establishment of one or more land banks or mortgage banks to enable long term loans to be advanced to agriculturists and others, is receiving active consideration, he states.

There is ample room in Palestine for a far larger population than now exists, says Sir Herbert, and those who will come will arrive gradually as the conditions of the country allow. They will not be a pauper class, but the same industrious, progressive type as those who in the last thirty or forty years have founded the Jewish colonies in the various parts of the country. They will bring capital with them, which will help promote the prosperity of the whole country to the advantage of all the inhabitants. No one who visits the districts in which these colonies are found, can doubt that if they had never been established the country as a whole would now be much poorer; if more were established the country would in the future be so much the richer.

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"I have been struck by the fact, during my visits to various parts of the country," concludes the High Commissioner, "that the opposition to Zionism does not go deep. The sheiks and feelaheans (Arab peasants) in the villages round the colonies live on the best possible terms with their Jewish neighbors. I was much impressed during my visit to northern Galilee by the fact that a considerable number of sheiks came to see me to express their good will toward the colonies that have been established and assured me that their advent had enabled the neighboring Arab villages to grow richer by giving a model for the improvement in their systems of agriculture and by increasing the amount of employment in the district. They informed me that in the Arab villages there was no opposition whatever to further immigration on similar lines."

A complete program of public sanitation and public medical service for the whole of Palestine, for the benefit of all its inhabitants is to be initiated. This work has already been carried on throughout Palestine irrespective of race or creed by the American Zionist Medical Unit, which, limited in personnel and equipment, has accomplished remarkable results in fighting diseases, particularly among the children.

There is unquestionably a strong desire for a united world Jewry to carry out the San Remo decision of the Peace Conference. That there are many different divisions among the Jews of the world, far too many, has been too well known. The realization of 2,000 years of hopes for the re-establishment of a Jewish Homeland, will bring many of these groups together and make for a united world Jewry. One significant move in this direction is a promise of co-operation received by the Zionist Organization of America from the Central Conference of American Rabbis, long one of the most vehement protesters in America against Zionism.

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AMERICA'S TASK IN SANTO DOMINGO AND HAITI

Some Problems Which Our Marines are Trying to Work Out for Our Wards in the Caribbean

By SAMUEL GUY INMAN

Mr. Inman has recently spent several weeks studying conditions in the island of Santo Domingo-Haiti. While his visit was primarily to make a religious survey on behalf of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin-America, of which he is executive secretary, Mr. Inman took a comprehensive view of conditions in those revolution-torn, bandit-infested republics and writes with deep sympathy and patriotic concern of the complex enterprise in civilization so recently assumed by the Navy Department and entrusted to the administration of our soldiers of the sea. The Committee on Co-operation in Latin-America is planning a broadly Christian program of social uplift and community education for Santo Domingo and Haiti. Mr. Inman's new book, "Through Santo Domingo and Haiti: A Cruise with the Marines," gives a vivid impression of social and political conditions on the island and outlines the unified program in which several of the great Protestant denominations are planning to act jointly through the Latin-American Committee.

SANTO DOMINGO is one of the most fertile countries in the world. Fifteen crops of cane can be reaped from one planting, whereas in Porto Rico it must be planted every year and in Cuba every three years. Great fields of cocoa, cocoanut palms, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, mangoes and aguacates are continually passed on the country roads. Mahogany, gold, petroleum and many other riches exist in abundance.

Yet, some 95 per cent of the people are unable to read and write; the interior of the country is practically unknown; many country people are unable to count above four or five; disease is widespread with practically no medical

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attention for the poor and, in general, the blessings of Christian civilization are lacking.

To understand Santo Domingo, it must be constantly kept in mind that, different from Haiti, it is Spanish-American in historical inheritance, religion, problems, ideals and culture. The efforts of Haiti to make it a black man's land were always resented, and the country's kinship with other Latin-American lands and with Spain has been emphasized by its leaders.

The Spanish consciousness is strong in spite of the omnipresent admixture of African blood. The very black mayor of an inland town said to an American naval officer in the course of a conversation: "Your argument is all right for Anglo Saxons, but *we Latins* are different."

The long series of revolutions preceding the American occupation left the educational system in a pitiable condition. While there was universal desire for schools, financial limitations allowed few of them. It seems that at every period when there was promise for a great educational advance, it was suddenly stopped by adverse political conditions. One of the most serious setbacks was at the time of the Haitian occupation, when the Dominican cultured classes fled from the Island. The intellectual circle, always notable in Santo Domingo in spite of all discouragements, kept up its culture by sending its sons and daughters abroad, largely to France, for their education.

RESULTS OF AMERICAN OCCUPATION

THE American military occupation found about 20,000 pupils in schools. These pupils were mostly in little private schools subsidized by the government, in which the one teacher who held the classes in a room in her own house taught all the grades. Not only pedagogical, but hygienic and moral conditions were usually very low, as a visit to some of these schools that still exist amply demonstrates.

The advance in primary education made since the American occupation is nothing less than astounding. Colonel Lane of the United States Marine Corps, who is now

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Minister of Education, is widely known for his singular devotion to his task. No one who has the privilege of making the rounds with him to the schools in the capital, as the writer did, and seeing the evident love of the children and admiration of the teachers for one who takes the interest of a real father in his children, can ever forget the impression. One of his most prized institutions is the correctional school, where the toughest little "wharf rats," thieves and beggars are being remade into useful citizens through training as shoemakers, tailors and carpenters. Not the least among the influences of reform is American baseball, which is played not only by that school, but by several others, under the inspection of the ever present Colonel, who is most ably seconded by a young Dominican, educated in Baltimore, who acts as Superintendent of Schools.

In one of the schools held in the former residence of the Archbishop, who is glad to rent it for the purpose, there are enrolled 400 pupils. A system of rural schools is being organized as rapidly as possible and gardens planted in connection with many. There are twenty-five Porto Ricans, trained in agriculture, who have been brought over to teach the children and their parents by means of these schools and institutes something of modern agriculture. Santo Domingo will soon be turning out some of these teachers also, as a new agricultural school is being built by the Government near the recently opened experimental farm.

Beyond the correctional school and the agricultural school, no industrial work is being done or contemplated by the Government. Colonel Lane believes that the government's first job is to teach the children to read and to write since the object of the American occupation is to establish a capable self-governing people, who must have reading and writing as a tool of first importance, and since funds are so limited he is bending every energy toward this single object. Nothing has yet been done even toward training teachers, except the adding of two grades of normal training to the one high school in Santo Domingo. In the tremendous speeding up of primary education, doubling the enrollment every year of the three of American occupation, all kinds

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of teachers and buildings have had to be used. The daily papers contain advertisements every day for from ten to twenty teachers. Old stables, jails and all manner of buildings are laid hold of, hastily cleared out and schools installed.

The present budget for public instruction is $1,500,000, one-third of the amount being furnished by the national treasury, another third by the municipalities and another by special taxes. It will probably be some time before, in justice to the people, this amount can be greatly augmented. The great need for help from outside forces is therefore easily seen, especially along the lines of industrial training and preparation of teachers.

BUILDING GOOD ROADS IN SANTO DOMINGO

SINCE the occupation of the Republic by American forces, it has been the policy of the military authorities to construct good roads as fast as the work can be done with the limited force at present on the island. This is slowly resulting in the transforming of some old trails formerly feasible only to horsemen into modern automobile turnpikes of permanent construction. Such a policy, if persisted in, cannot fail to have a good effect in stimulating interior trade and communication and making the now backward districts of the interior accessible to the civilizing influences that the larger cities are capable of bringing to bear.

The construction of highways has received much attention from the government during the past year. The definite program of the Department of Public Works to connect all the principal cities of the country by means of well built roads and to traverse the island from Santo Domingo on the south shore to Monte Cristi on the north by a permanent and well established *carretera,* proceeds slowly, but surely. It will be a great day when the road across the island is completed.

I visited the office of *El Diario,* and had an interesting talk with several literary lights. Being newspaper men

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they may have been "talking for publication" when they praised the American occupation and the fine work that was being done, the advancement of business, the development of schools, etc., since the country was able to have a little breathing spell from revolution. Yet this is the testimony that one gets pretty generally. It is hard to tell how much of it represents fear of getting the ill will of the authorities and how much is due to real conviction. But there is no question that the business men greatly appreciate knowing that they are safe in ordering goods and in counting on continued ability to do business. This is something that the country has not known from the time it was a Spanish colony until the American occupation in 1916.

Is the fact of this security, coupled with a substantial advance in primary education, and improvements in roads, harbors and other material matters, a fair return for submitting to a foreign military government? The Dominicans raised a fund and sent their deposed President to the Peace Conference at Paris to say the price was too great, and to ask for relief. The protest of the Spaniards was no doubt due to President Henriquez's work. He has since visited the United States on the same mission of protest and no doubt will meet with sympathy as he travels voicing this plea. The arrangement that most Dominicans seem to prefer is not like the one we have with Haiti, but similar to the one with Cuba, whereby we may intervene to restore order when necessary.

WHAT OUR MARINES ARE DOING

THE work of the Marines in Santo Domingo deserves a great deal more notice than it has received. Most of the enlisted men there now went in only for the duration of the war, and are greatly dissatisfied at not getting back home. The bandit situation in the interior is very bad and seemingly getting no better, and more men are needed. Some men have been up in the hills, chasing bandits, sleeping on their guns and hiking from fifteen to twenty-five miles a day for a year or more. None of our men in France

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have been called upon to go through the privations which these men up in the bandit country have suffered, away from all civilized communities, never seeing a white woman, or a book, or a home, or receiving any ennobling influence. It is hard enough on the men in the centers where there are generally clubs with once in a while a motion picture and a new magazine. But the men who are actively campaigning in the rough, bandit-infested interior of Santo Domingo deserve our deepest sympathy.

The first thing for the traveler to do either in Haiti or in Santo Domingo, is to report to the local American officer in command. The arrangements between our military forces and the local authorities in the two countries is different, however, at least in theory. In Santo Domingo there is no pretense of federal government except by the American Military forces. In Haiti there is a president, cabinet, and sometimes a Congress, with governors and local officials, which function in certain matters as long as they are willing to co-operate with the American authorities. There is, then, a dual government in Haiti, one the native government and the other the American Marines, headed by the General in command.

The marine who becomes an officer in the Haitian gendarmerie finds himself clothed with practically unlimited power, in the district where he serves. He is the judge of practically all civil and criminal cases, settling everything from a family fight to a murder. He is the paymaster for all funds expended by the national government, he is ex-officio director of the schools, inasmuch as he pays the teachers. He controls the mayor and city council, since they can spend no funds without his O. K. As collector of taxes he exercises a strong influence on all individuals of the community.

CHASING BANDITS HARD WORK

THE fight being waged by the force of marines and the gendarmerie for the extermination of the "cacos" or bandits is growing more serious constantly. While we were

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not molested on the main road, it was evident everywhere that we were in a country where there was real war. Most of the big posts were stripped of men except barely enough to do necessary guard duty, the rest of them being out in the hills after the bandits. These outlaws go in bands numbering from twenty-five to two hundred generally. Not more than twenty or thirty per cent are armed and these are very poor shots, so that there are few casualties among our men. They are now making a systematic drive and closing in on the bandits and in some battles from twenty-five to sixty are killed. It is the hardest kind of work imaginable.

The bandits may be sighted on top of a hill, and by the time our men hike to the sport their quarry will have crossed over to the next hill top and will holloa across making fun of the slow Americans. There is nothing to do but keep on chasing them until by strategy or by forced marches they are within gunshot. The range needs to be close, as the "cacos" are little affected by a wound that would put an ordinary man out of business. I saw one man who had been accidentally shot and brought into the fort where a gendarme was probing for the bullet with what looked to me like a needle used to sew up potato sacks. The blood was flowing profusely as the probe went here and there, but the man lay as still as though absolutely nothing was going on. After seeing that, I was more ready to believe the stories of how they kept on coming after they had been shot in a way that would be fatal to an ordinary man.

One's heart goes out toward our boys who are engaged in this terrible business. Often their forced marches without food last for many long hours and even days. Months are spent out in the wild country without seeing any civilized life whatever, without any amusements, without even a newspaper or magazine.

The men out on the field agree that the situation is getting worse rather than better. They only see an end of it when all the "cacos" shall have been exterminated. But when will this be accomplished? In the killing of the present crop, others are grown. While Haiti has always

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had its professional revolutionists and country bands who live by robbery, there seems to be a general agreement that the present acute trouble was developed by the American officers of the gendarmerie enforcing too rigidly an old law requiring men to work the roads four days a month. This has now been abandoned, and all road workers are paid a gourde (20 cents gold) a day for their work. But the opposition to government has been augmented to such an extent that the American authorities see no way of settling it except by the sword. In the short time I was in the country, I was not able to form a proper judgment as to whether there was any particular political program of opposition to the Americans that inspired the "cacos," or whether they were simply a lot of bandits who preferred to live by pillage rather than by work.

A DEMORALIZING LIFE

IT is with great hesitancy that one even seemingly passes criticism on our American Marines. No man knows but that he might act in the same way under similar conditions. It is the machine, not the man, that is to blame. From the military standpoint, it is natural to regard all life as cheap; especially when stationed in a country where people are little above the animal, where you are hated and your life is sought, if not by all, at least by organized bands who compel sleeping with your hand on your gun. Military life, moreover, does not lend itself to civil reforms, for it is based on caste. A young editor, who had to take his paper to the military authorities for their censorship before it was published, said: "We want a civil government, so we can approach them. You go to see one of the military authorities. You know he is a very fine man. But he has a guard at his door, who unceremoniously and profanely tells you to 'get out, and do it quick!'" Is it any wonder that the bandit situation doesn't get better under such treatment or that the American soldier acts as he does, under the conditions described, when he has never had any training for administrative or democratizing work?

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The same thing applies to moral life. Who will throw the first stone at a man who is compelled to live away from all that is pure and noble, without religious or moral influences of any kind, without books or recreation often, without even a baseball or a victrola, in the midst of the vilest native life, where men have little virtue and women small sense of shame? The whole thing is absolutely unnatural. If necessary for a few months under extraordinary conditions, it should certainly not be permitted through the years that men cannot get into a pure atmosphere or see good women of their own race or hear a moral exhortation for two or three years, as happens with some of our men here.

It seems strange that in making the convention with Haiti nothing was included about education. The United States has authority to appoint officials who are to superintend the development of roads and other improvements, sanitation, the post office system and other departments, but nothing whatever is said in the convention concerning education. Some two years ago the general in command asked the authorities in Washington to send an American to Haiti as superintendent of public instruction. A superintendent of county schools in Louisiana, who spoke splendid French, was appointed. When he arrived in Port-au-Prince he found great difficulty in having himself recognized and while he has been working hard for the last two years he is greatly handicapped because of his lack of authority. He can make any suggestions to the Minister of Education concerning changes in an individual school or in the whole system but he has no authority to see that these suggestions are carried out. His splendid report, submitted to the Minister of Education for the last year, reviews the work accomplished and points out the necessity of a reform program along the following lines:

REFORMS NEEDED IN HAITI

FIRST, construction of school buildings; second, the formation of better crops of teachers; third, the radical transformation of the system of inspection; fourth, the

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revision of the program of study and the preparation of a pedagogical guide for the teachers. The latter he has already carried out himself and now the teachers have a very full and specific direction, not only as to what they are to teach, but how they are to teach it. In the matter of school building he has suggested certain standard plans along the lines of those developed at the Philippines or in Porto Rico. For the development of a better class of teachers he stresses the necessity of a raise in salary. The teachers in the country districts of Haiti get an average salary of $4 a month. There is spent altogether for country schools in this country, where the population of two million and a half is almost entirely rural, the sum of 3,000 dollars a month, for salaries of rural teachers. Salaries for all of the teachers in Haiti amount to $9,197 per month. The teaching forces are to be improved also by the provision of circulating libraries and by the organization of teachers' institutes and normal schools.

In a country where education is so backward and teachers are so poorly prepared, school inspection is one of the most important things. The Superintendent of Education has asked for the appointment of 26 North-American inspectors who shall be paid at the rate of $1,800 to $2,400 a year. He believes that if he can secure the appointment of these, that the whole system can be checked up and gradually improved; otherwise, it seems to him quite hopeless.

The whole annual budget for education in Haiti was last year $340,000. Cuba, with the same number of people spent $7,000,000; Porto Rico with half the number about $4,000,000 and even Santo Domingo its next door neighbor, with a third of the population, will spend this year, under the American Colonel of the Marines who directs her education, $1,500,000. This story would not be nearly so bad if this $340,000 were spent in the right way. A large part of it heretofore has been wasted on the political army. Many of the teachers who have been appointed in the smaller towns never go to the school and indeed often there is not even a school house. The Captain of the Gendarmerie told

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me of a woman coming in to draw her pay as school marm. When he gave her the receipt, she signed by a cross. He asked her to write her name. She said she did not know how to write. When reproached for this she said that she was the teacher of reading not of writing. The American Superintendent found in Port-au-Prince that many of the schools had directors who were getting large salaries and large rent allowances. They had a young girl as teacher, who was put off in a dark room of the director's residence where the school was conducted, the only responsibility of the director being to supply the room and draw the salary. Sometimes there were two such schools in the same block. In the first three months of the American Superintendent's administration he suppressed 66 of these schools and the position of director has been done away with entirely. Every teacher is required to be responsible for 35 pupils. Outside of the principal cities, Port-du-Prince, Cap Haitien, Gonaives, St. Marc, Jacmel, and Aux Cayes, Mr. Bourgeois estimates that there is about only one-fifth of one per cent of the population who are literate. He says that the children in the schools are taught entirely by the memory method. While they learn to read in school, returning home to a complete dearth of literature, they very soon forget.

AMERICA'S HARD TASK IN HAITI

THE best of the officers in Haiti realize that the situation is not satisfactory, and are doing what they can to correct it. "So far we have done little for Haiti except stop the graft. And that has not made the people like us. It is time we were doing some constructive service for these people. I would like to see you begin the program of schools and hospitals you have outlined." Thus spoke the commander of the American Marines in Haiti. Of course he did not mean that literally because already much has been accomplished in the building of roads, the sanitation of the cities, the improvement of the postal service and other

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public activities. The national debt, which constantly threatened the independent life of the nation, is being gradually liquidated, and revolution, that stifled all economic development, has been suppressed.

If our government is to go forward satisfactorily with the tremendous job it has, there must be the most careful selection of the men who are sent to deal with these people. When we began our work in the Philippines we sent a man like Mr. Taft to begin the development of the people into a democracy. He found much the same conditions as now exist in Haiti. When he began to talk about "our little brown brother," it took strong measures to stop the sarcasm of the soldiers who sang:

> "He may be a brother of William H. T.
> But he ain't no kin to me."

But the new spirit prevailed, and today the development of the Filipino toward democracy is the pride of every American. The job in Haiti is a harder one, but it can be done by a combination of American administrators of the highest type and the schools and churches of American Christianity.

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THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

"Ladies—and at their Best

ONE of the earliest comedy offerings of the new season recalls to mind a favorite fiction theme which allows the struggling young actress to appear in a new play and create such a favorable impression on her audience that she becomes a star at once, surrounded by all the luxury which is supposed by the authors of all the best sellers to belong to theatrical stars. One August night, however, this theme received a severe jolt, for an actress, a real actress, made her return to the stage in a comparatively small part, and quite outshone the young and really very charming heroine of the evening.

The actress was Minnie Dupree, a great favorite of twenty years ago, and the play, was "The Charm School," a dramatization by Alice Duerr Miller and Robert Milton of Mrs. Miller's story, which ran in the *Saturday Evening Post.* It is the lighter type of comedy, feather-down, telling the story of a young man who inherits a girl's school, which he proceeds to run along his own lines, said lines often making the comedy verge onto fairly broad farce. Sam Hardy and Marie Carroll, graduates from musical comedy, play respectively the young man and the girl who falls in love with him. A young actor named James Gleason gave a capital performance of a disappointed lover, while Miss Blythe Daly, daughter of Arnold Daly, also helped the evening by her characterization of a hoyden. But it was Miss Dupree's evening. Her small rôle blazed as a jewel among baser metals. It is very evident that she learned her lesson in the school where they taught real acting.

This has been quite a season for the ladies, for, in addi-

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tion to Miss Dupree, a number of America's most prominent and talented actresses are happily at home in new plays. Janet Beecher, for instance, as the lady doctor of Mr. Belasco's production of Jean Archibald's charming comedy, "Call the Doctor." Miss Beecher's characterization of the physician of domestic ailments is one of the best things she has done for several years. Incidentally her patient, a woman suffering from the general let-down of after-marriage, is portrayed by Charlotte Walker. Miss Walker, as the obviously loving, but "sloppy," wife whose husband is skidding because of her neglect of herself and her earlier charms, is a splended foil for Miss Beecher's doctor. The plot is not essentially new, but much of the comedy is enjoyable, and often smart. The cast is of the usual all-star Belasco variety, as are the settings.

Another of Mr. Belasco's fall productions brings the charming Frances Starr in Edwin Knoblock's curious drama, "One." The play, as a whole, is eminently satisfactory to the Belasco cult, and to Miss Starr's acting, even though there are moments when it is a bit off key and the plausibility of the situation is strained. The play, as a whole, is vastly interesting. It deals with the psychic influence of one sister upon her twin, two bodies with one soul, an ocean between them, but not separating their thoughts of one another. How one of the twin sisters is made whole-souled makes the play with its complex story. It seems doubtful that anyone but Miss Starr, with Mr. Belasco's aid, could make this story as real as it is. The supporting cast is excellent, particularly Marie R. Burke, as a typically American society woman who has occasionally delved into psychic phonomena.

Still another lady to arrive with a new play is Margaret Anglin. Her new drama is "The Woman of Bronze," a strictly conventional play of a type very familiar to playgoers throughout the United States,—the eternal triangle. The vast difference is Margaret Anglin. Here is an actress who holds you forward in your seat through one of the most highly emotional scenes that the American stage has wit-

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nessed in years, and it is her unusual ability that carries the play to its certain success.

Oh, yes, and there is also "The Bat," which features Effie Ellser, and the ever-funny May Vokes. This is a mystery play, the work of Mary Roberts Rinehart and Avery Hopwood, and it is safe to defy any average person to sit through a performance without gasping for breath, perspiring, and assuming the mental attitude so popularly and aptly paralleled with a "wet rag." What's it all about? Well, go and see. With "The Bad Man," and the "Greenwich Village Follies," it can be ranked as "the best show in town."

An Oriental Romance

NOTHING in Chinese setting has so picturesquely revealed a page from Oriental romance as Earl Carroll's "The Lady of the Lamp." Mr. Carroll has the courage to produce his own play, and he has given us a glimpse of China at the time gunpowder was discovered. He has revealed to us its decadent court and its menacing Tartars, who eventually set their own blood on the throne at Pekin and have ruled China since. Around the visit of a "slumming" party, one member of which is under the influence of opium, the play rolls back the screen of centuries and delights and entertains by the picture of one of the most fascinating courts of the surviving ancient world, gorgeous in raiment and seductive in manners and passions. Idealistic, of course, are the ethics and environment—for Chinese life was, and is, none too punctilious or hygienic. To add that George Gaul is playing the leading rôle is sufficient comment of the acting ability.

Comedies

PORTER EMERSON BROWNE, in "The Bad Man," has staged several distinctive elemental human characteristics in a very explosive dramatic compound. There is love in distress, rough-hewn justice, heroic honor, the gambler, emotional youth, and the rest of them,—all revolving around the point of "The Bad Man's" six-shooter.

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Here is melodrama, up-to-date as far as it is possible to keep up-to-date in the Mexican political drama, and here also is Mr. Holbrook Blynn's *Pancho Lopez,* this picturesque fellow reminiscent of our ancient and perpetual thorn, Villa,—only with a difference. In creating *Pancho Lopez,* the author certainly remembered Robin Hood. But the border drama is a real thriller, and a sure season runner. Mr. Blynn is, par excellence, fascinating, commanding and convincing. James A. Devine, as a doddering old uncle who has been led to sell his New England farm and buy a ranch on Mexican soil, to indulge his nephew's adventuresome proclivities, gives the audience hysterics every time he "spills the beans." This new play certainly belongs in the "be sure and see it" class.

Octavius Roy Cohen, whose negro stories in the *Saturday Evening Post* have caused some people to laugh, is the author of a novel play called "Come Seven;"—novel, because it has a cast of white players depicting negro characters. The slender plot revolves around a valuable diamond ring, which is to be stolen, pawned, and later returned. Unfortunately Mr. Cohen builds artificial situations, and his characterization is not always true to negro life. The saving grace as a play is the fact that the clever players who have been entrusted with the rôles are capable of winning out through their ability to play darky comedy. Lucille LaVerne is the best of them all, with Gail Kane and Arthur Aylesworth close seconds.

A very clever comedy by the authors of last year's amusing farce, "Nighty Night," is Adolph Klauber's production of "Scrambled Wives.' Adelaide Matthews and Martha M. Stanley have worked out the amusing situations that might occur if a man and his second wife were to be invited to a house party where his first wife, from whom he has been divorced, was present. There is very little plot, but situation after situation is unfolded with amazing skill. Roland Young, always happy in a comedy rôle, plays the husband in such a manner as to prove himself one of our best farceurs.

The trend of farce during the past three or four seasons

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has pointed to the fact that some day an American producer, aided by an American playwright and American players, would offer a production that would rival in its indelicate frankness anything to be seen on the Parisian music-hall stages. So far the honors go to the farce, "Ladies' Night," which is the work of Avery Hopwood and Charlton Andrews. The modest little story tells of a gentleman who undergoes a homeopathic treatment to cure himself of bashfulness, and, while doing so, lands in a Turkish bath on ladies' night. The rest is obvious, and often approaches the obscene. However, it is ridiculously funny, and one cannot help but laugh. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that Mr. A. H. Woods, the producer, has selected a cast of unusual ability, who play with great seriousness. Played otherwise, the piece would be hopelessly indecent. As it is, well,—it is funny, and a lot of people like rough humor.

Wall Street Moves Up-town

EACH year two or three producers have a mad race to see which can make the offering that will be considered the opening play of the new season, and this year, as has frequently happened, added zest was given to the race by the fact that the two contending plays were similar in theme. Last year murder mysteries held the stage, this year it is Wall Street. "Opportunity," Owen Davis' drama, was the first to arrive. It tells the more or less familiar story of the man who gets into Wall Street, makes a lot of money, neglects his wife for the inevitable "other woman," to finally lose everything and go back to the woman who loves him in spite of his penniless financial condition. On this skeleton have been hung some interesting character studies, and a great deal of suspense. James Crane and Lily Cahill play, respectively, the husband and wife, and help to make the play convincing.

The other Wall Street play is "Crooked Gamblers," by Samuel Shipman and Percival Wilde. "Crooked Gamblers" is rather the more interesting of the two in spite of

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the fact that its love story is not as commanding. It has had the advantage of being staged by A. H. Woods, who probably understands melodrama better than any American producer, and has the knack of mounting his plays in a most spectacular manner. The big scene, showing two stories of an office building, and ending with a realistic vision of the curb market, with all its excitement, would carry almost any story. Then, too, the happy ending is brought about by an unusual, but plausible, "punch." Taylor Holmes, late motion-picture star, plays the man in this drama, and is surrounded by a large cast of well-known people.

Under the Conductor's Baton

MR. LEW FIELDS, after numerous years of buffoonery, has stopped acting, and become a producer. His latest offering is entitled "The Poor Little Ritz Girl," which is a clever title for an evening's entertainment, and the evening really is entertaining. The audience is treated to a smack of Broadway revue, and a bit of romantic comedy that lifts the occasion from the ordinary. The plot is rather obvious, but the work of several of the players is of the highest musical-comedy variety. Charles Purcell is featured, but why, is the question no one seems to be able to answer. He has a fair voice, but there are several people in the company much more clever. Mr. Fields, however, is certainly successful with his new production.

The Messrs. Shubert, having recently acquired the big Century Theatre on Central Park West, found that they not only owned the ghosts of the ill-fated New Theatre, but that the Century roof made a most admirable place where they could launch an entertainment that would rival Mr. Ziegfeld's Mid-Night Frolic. Not wishing to do the thing by halves, they engaged all the clever entertainers and beautiful chorus girls who were not working at the moment of their decision, arranged their work in the form of a revue, and the result is one more place where New York can go and have a good time, even though it is long after bedtime.

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Mr. Anderson Stages the "Follies" of Art

JOHN MURRAY ANDERSON'S genius for giving the stage fresh ideas and contributing a new art for public advertisement is again emphasized in his 1920 model, "The Greenwich Village Follies." The motif of Mr. Anderson's "Follies" is "Art," and its lodgment is supposed to be Greenwich Village, that lower Fifth Avenue, Washington Square section of old New York. Incidentally, if the "village' lives up to its staged version, it will have to "go some," as the saying is. In the production of "The Follies" Mr. Anderson has surrounded himself with some advanced talent in the decorative and millinery art. He has an eye for beauty in form, line and figure. Novelties in acts and stage settings are not lacking and one feels, after three hours, in Mr. Anderson's atmosphere, a reaction of pleasurable delight in which no happy chord has not been touched. The "Follies" is, first, a series of modern art backgrounds; second, exquisite tableaus, set in motion by dance and song, third, enough regulation vaudeville to relieve and contrast. Youth, beauty, charm and originality in costuming; a sprinkling of absurdities; a breath-taking Russian number, exquisite in costuming and dancing; novel, a fascinating mimicry dance by Margaret Severn, designed by artist Benda; some "rough stuff" by the popular female impersonator, Bert Savoy; a tuneful pot-pourri of modern melody, jazz and beautiful girls,—an altogether eye-charming, satisfying, and novel evening—yes, all this is the "Greenwich Village Follies."

It is generally possible to sum up the Winter Garden's latest production by saying "one more Winter Garden show." The exception is when Mr. Al Jolson moves into town, and it is necessary to draw out all the superlatives to explain his modern minstrelsy. "Cinderella on Broadway" lacks Mr. Jolson, or any star of real magnitude, but it is an evening's entertainment of the variety that has become nationally famous. One is always sure that the big stage will be used to disclose a novelty in the way of scenic art, that there will be brilliant costumes, songs, dances, girls and

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humor. The strength of this latest production lies in its dancing. One after another a dozen nimble-footed men and women hold the center of the stage as the evening progresses. Next in order comes the several handsome stage settings, while the performance is carried forward by the clever clowning of two or three recruits from vaudeville. Yes, one more Winter Garden show can be stamped on "Cinderella on Broadway," which means that folks from town and out-of-town, will pack the big play-house for several months.

New York's other big theatre, The Hippodrome, opened its season early in August. This year the colossal revue has been called "Good Times," which is quite as good a name as any other, when you consider that most people say, "We've been to the Hippodrome," and let it go at that. The spectacle is as gorgeous as ever, if possible more so, with the usual good taste displayed in lighting and costuming. Belle Storey is again the prima donna, and again the elephants, as usual, also Joe Jackson with his trick bicycle, a battalion of clowns, headed by Marceline and several remarkable dancers who cavort about the big stage. It would seem that this home of spectacles would be as crowded as ever, for certainly the show is as good, if not better, than previous seasons.

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A SHELF OF NEW BOOKS

HARRY A. FRANCK has been on another vagabond journey, this time through Germany, "Vagabonding Through Changing Germany" (Harper & Bros.). Those who are familiar with Mr. Franck's idle wandering through the interesting and important parts of the world can readily imagine how vital are his comments on the nation which is struggling to right itself in the eyes of the world—and its own people. Mr. Franck has always seemed an able reporter, and a truthful one, and what he says about Germany must necessarily be believed. Like hundreds of others he feels that the German people are not absolutely to blame for what occurred during those four terrible years, but "that the more voiceless mass of the nation were under a spell not unlike that cast by the dreadful dragons of their own legends." Which may or may not be the case. There is plenty of humor in the book, which is characteristically developed by anecdote. Also, much of the humor has an underlying note of real tragedy. The volume is profusely illustrated with snapshots by the author.

Harry Franck, by the way, has a really dangerous rival in Frederick O'Brien, whose "White Shadows in the South Seas" (The Century Co.) has proved to be one of the most popular "travel" books of the past few months. It should be interesting to see what Mr. O'Brien's keen observation would tell him about other lands.

To properly review the two volumes that make up the "Memoirs of the Empress Eugenie" (D. Appleton & Co.), which Comte Fleury prepared during the Empress lifetime, but which was expressly held until her death before publication, it would be necessary to give more space than is permitted for this department. The two volumes are revealing, both from an historical and personal standpoint.

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The Empress has not only told all that happened during the romantic adventures that led up to the disastrous climax during the stormy days of the second Empire, but she has pulled aside the curtain of her mind, and revealed the whys, and wherefores. Naturally, there is considerable that is defensive, both for herself, and her son and husband. However, such a note cannot detract from the value or interest of the work. She was one of the greatest figures of European history, and if there were moments when she was imperious, at fault, she paid for them dearly. Certainly no more lonely, or pathetic figure existed than she presented during the days of her exile in England. And certainly there could be nothing more dramatic than her ultimate triumph, that she should live to see her enemy, Germany, broken, that she should live to pick the spring flowers in the gardens of her own beloved Paris. Empress Eugenie will have her place in history, and these memoirs will help generations to come to know her better.

Susan Glaspell has turned playwright of late years, and not being content with her enviable position as an American novelist, has produced a number of the most distinguished plays, literary in craftsmanship, and popular from the standpoint of dramatic production. Of them all, "Trifles" is, of course, the best known, and the best from every other angle to be considered. "Suppressed Desires" is a close second, and the others are worthy of careful study from the student, and of reading for the growing number who have come to understand that the published play is as interesting as the short story,—or even more so. ("Plays," by Susan Glaspell, Small Maynard & Co.)

James Oliver Curwood has called his latest tale of the Northwest "The Valley of Silent Men" (Cosmopolitan Book Corporation). What and where this valley is forms one of the major mysteries of the story. It is a typical, virile yarn, breathless in its interest, rugged in its types and word pictures, magnificent as to scenery, which looms from the printed page with a beckoning that fills the heart with desire. The story, briefly, is of a man who thinks he is

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about to die. As a member of the Northwestern Police, he has an unimpeachable record, but his deathbed confession makes him a murderer. How he doesn't die, how life and love come to him, and how he is able to escape from the shadow of doom and find the peace of the Valley of Silent Men makes up a story that is a boon companion for any idle hour, and one not to be parted with until the final page. It is James Oliver Curwood at his best, and that means something.

Another fall novel, of quick action and sustained interest, is Gilbert Parker's "No Defence" (J. B. Lippincott & Co.). The book is very different from the usual novels which Sir Gilbert offers his public. It is laid chiefly through the West Indies, in the romantic days paralleled in Europe by the French Revolution. The hero is an Irish gentleman, the heroine as lovely a lady as ever wore lace ruffles, and once that the story is safely anchored in the West Indies there is enough swashbuckling adventure to suit anyone. The only trouble is that it isn't Sir Gilbert Parker, as we know him best. It is much more like a movie tale than one of his more characteristic stories.

"Resurrection Rock," Edwin Balmer's new book (Little, Brown & Co.) has unfortunately to stand the acid test of the fact that the author was one of collaborators of "The Indian Drum." He has not equalled this most unusual story which should find a permanent place in American literature, but in "Resurrection Rock" he has written a splendid tale of mystery, with just a touch of psychic adventure in the background to help twist surprises into the plot. The scene is one with which Mr. Balmer must be very familiar, for he makes the Michigan woods, and Lake Michigan, Chicago, and Lake Huron very real, are as his descriptions of out-of-the-way places and characters, that stimulates the reader's interest in the story.

Quite a different type of book, a real love story, depending upon its simplicity as much as anything else, for its charm, is Sara Ware Bassett's "The Wall Between" (Little, Brown & Co.). The more or less familiar plot starts with

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an age-old quarrel over a wall that is a boundary line, and from this, mellows down to a love story, which, carefully, subtly, and sometimes humorously depicts New England life as it exists in the New Hampshire hills. One wishing a clean, simple story, might well recommend this novel.

Lee Wilson Dodd's novel, "The Book of Susan" (E. P. Dutton & Co.), is an exceptionally brilliantly written story of a most unusual young American woman in her most modern sense. Starting life at the wrong end of the street in a New England city, amid the environment of a drunken, murderous father and his mistress, Susan, perhaps more through destiny than actual self-assertion climbs a more or less stormy, but decidedly literary way, to a pinnacle of success. The story has action, often dramatic moments, whose charm lies in the way Mr. Dodd has told of them, in the more or less casual shaping of material that, in another's hands, might have been melodramatic, and nothing else.

"The Chinese Coat," by Jeanette Lee (Scribners & Son), while depicting the sweet love story, leaves one with the feeling that something is missing—unfinished. It tells the story of a woman in a little suburban home who feels the spell of a rare Chinese coat that she has seen in one of the stores, and she feels that she could be perfectly happy in the possession of it. The feeling grows upon her, and she is actually unhappy thinking about it, until her husband sells a small lot, against his better judgment, to obtain the coat, only to find that it has been sold. Finally, after a lapse of years, comes the trip to China,—and dangerous days. Destiny, the Chinese idea of destiny—plays its part, and she finds the coat,—and contentment. Anything from Mrs. Lee's pen is interesting, even though overly sketchy in plot and characterization.

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The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped)

Growing Pains of a New Order

THERE are going to be some arid places on the Earth if the trade balances don't begin to swing back to something like pre-war proportions. The production capacity of our great and much upheaved country has trebled since 1914. We have been stimulated to a feverish peak of over-supply. When Uncle Sam's folks were buying Liberty's and Victory's and we were loaning the money to quarreling people over there, our product could be disposed of at top prices in gold. In fact the gold did not even get a trip abroad. It just stayed here and sprouted bank notes, credits and lifted exchange rates. Also Europe sent, pell mell, large shipments of gold over to our vaults, until we now have nearly as much gold as all the rest of the world. We've got so much and our currency is so high class that it is hardly on speaking terms with the goldless paper money of Europe—and still our smoke-stacks are belching forth smoke and our machinery is buzzing, turning out every conceivable thing from chewing-gum to locomotives, from pins to automobiles—for sale abroad.

How are our neighbors over-seas going to pay for these things, in currency, or goods, satisfactory to American business? France can't send us her chief product; Germany can't manufacture enough to fill the shortage caused by war; Russia won't work and is hardly on speaking terms with the world; Japan is gold poor; she's got three times as much as she ever hoped to have; the half dozen new self-determining pre-war nations from the Baltic to the Adriatic sea are too busy agitating their new-found nationalities to produce but the necessities of war and existence; Australia and Canada are needed by England. The world will not, for a long time, be able to swap commodities with us. How, then, will they, or we, make their currency current? Cancel the war debts, says one. Yes? and take the load upon

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our own shoulders? Who is willing to do that? Certainly the people at large, now burdened with the h. c. of l., cannot buy "Cancellation" Bonds, certainly the millionaires of America won't. They like their millions far too well to tear up Liberty bonds. And besides they are taxed now almost to the point of confiscation of net income, from their point of view of what they consider a sufficient income. No, we must preserve our millionaires of finance and industry. Russia has presented a sad example of Communism and so-called Soviet government—a government in name only, because not representative, constructive, protective or accepted by the peasant, of which Russia is 75 per cent.

Yet we've got to do something to get rid of our goods and our gold. Stop production, stop exporting—and what would happen? Panic and idleness at home and delayed, if not hopeless, conditions in industry abroad.

How shall we help our neighbors and thus help ourselves? How shall we return to a period of equalization in currency and product, and thus restore the peace and prosperity of pre-war days? Some bankers tell us to practice thrift; others tell us to stop buying luxuries; some tell us to invest our money in good internal loans, in industries, street railways, municipal bonds, etc., abroad. The air is full of advice, but no one takes it. Everyone seeks to feather his own nest, while advising his neighbor to send feathers abroad, and greed and profiteering is the practice of the hour, from the highest in finance to the push-cart man, from the farmer to the smallest retailer, from the tenement-house owner to the palatial hotel gouger, and all the while money is buying less and the nations of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain, Holland, the Oriental countries are getting poorer and less productive.

There is something "rotten in Denmark" somewhere; and the natural course of things is not going to restore the normal in time to stem the deluge, unless some "bloodletting" takes place in the impeded current of those laws. They are not flowing naturally. They are impeded by gov-

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ernment inactivity in the right direction, they are impeded by goods in storage for high prices; they are impeded by "stock on hand" held for an advance; they are impeded by speculation at home, by all sorts of devious means for selfish purpose. The great wave of self-sacrifice, inspired by the war, has swept by like a prairie fire and the hoary head of greed has come up from the dug-out.

In the mean time Europe fights on. The god of destruction rolls over the land. New-made paper republics are falling. The peace of the world was not completed at Versailles; economic peace is badly aligned. We are in the days of world inequalities—diversities of value and production that must be restored.

Perhaps the old order will never return. After the breakdown of civilization in China five hundred years ago, it never returned. A new order and new practices of trade and taxation came in, and are still in vogue, as far as China proper is concerned. A new order may come to the New World. Even a new conception of life and a self-enforced isolation may prevail just as it prevailed in China. The Ultimate of Man is individualism. If the schemes of Man do not function in the form of a government to his taste, then Man will return to individualism; concern himself with his own affairs; and settle down to a selfish peace and prosperity,—behind a brick wall and with a loaded gun handy. May we not take some lessons out of history?

Let Us Put Justice in the Saddle

MORE people are wearing old clothes, old shoes and other garments of a quality formerly discarded than before the Great War, and yet there is more per capita money in circulation than in any other period of the world's history. There is more wealth in America than ever before, and there are more people making more money than ever before. This is a contradictory and puzzling condition of economics. Who is to blame and what is wrong? The Uneasy Chair would be presumptuous to present an explanation or solution and yet all the world knows the facts. Naturally, plentiful circulating medium makes for

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a lessening purchasing power. Those who have been shrewd or fortunate enough to gain abnormal profits, spend lavishly—money has not its former intrinsic value in their eyes. Easy come, easy go, is the old saying. But even the abnormal prosperous resent the excessive cost of articles of necessity. A man rode up town in New York, the other day, in a taxi-cab, from Broad Street. His destination was 85th Street, and yet while he saw no inconsistency in using a taxi, when the subway would have taken him for five cents and the taxi for three or four dollars, he told me that he hadn't bought a new pair of shoes, nor a new suit of clothes, for two years. He resented the "profiteering" in shoes and clothes, and he said if the rest of the people would simply stop buying the prices would have to come down.

My friend forgot that manufacturers could sell their product abroad at high prices; that the war-stricken world was short on everything and looked to America to supply, for the present, the needs of the people, idle in manufacturing pursuits during the war or engaged in war essentials. One trouble unquestionably is the expansion of our export trade. We are draining our own products, raw and manufacturing, and creating a shortage at home. Another widespread cause of abnormal prices, is profiteering of the retailer. True he is beset with high rents, high cost of labor, and taxes. These obligations which he has to face, inspire him with an orgy of seeking larger and larger gains for his products. He is affected by the spirit of high cost that pervades the land, and adds on profit regardless of former competitive considerations. He knows he can get what he charges and he stops at no defined percentage of profit.

Money is abundant and is flying around the circle with a rapidity unknown in America. The Government is forced to take a large percentage of income from the very people to whom it pays back interest on Liberty bonds, and down goes the Liberty bond. What is the solution of maintaining the Liberty bonds face value? Relief from taxation, or retirement. It is obvious that the nation needs a Readjustment Commission of our greatest economists to

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plan and carry out a program that will stabilize our values and our currency, regulate our exports and take under advisement methods to restore the normal laws or supply and demand particularly in essential commodities, with relation to conservation, distribution and stimulation.

War has revealed that there are men of the first calibre who will subordinate their personal ambitions to public good and such men should be called into a great conference with powers to act and official backing to enforce regulatory and conservative methods of much needed economic readjustment. Such a body of men should be without political aspirations. They should be drawn from our intellectuals, our bankers, our industrial chiefs, our legal giants.

This problem is threatening the Nation. It is breeding insecurity of character and insecurity of morals among our people, distrust and greed. The American people know how to obey, when Justice is in the saddle.

Is Prohibition a Farce

THE grape and blackberry crop this year will not go on the breakfast-table. Cherries, on the streets of New York, were 80 cents a pound. Apples for eating purposes have gone into the luxury classification. Empty whiskey barrels are bringing fabulous prices. Trucking has passed into the profiteering class. One truckman hereabouts has "cleaned up" $45,000 since July 1st, 1919. They say it is getting difficult to secure a hearse for its regular business.

Physicians are not complaining of inadequate fees and a shortage of patients. The drug store was never so prosperous. Can a habit be legislated out of existence? A thousand home brews are taking the place of the distillery. The back-porch is supplanting the saloon. Is there a lesson in this? Can the American public be dictated to? Are there any article X's in the 18th Amendment?

Drinking has been driven to cover, has been branded as a sin against the commonwealth. A nation of hypocrities and malefactors is the result. It's an after-war question, but someone must solve it. Prohibition must be enforced,

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modified, or repudiated or American character and American law must suffer.

Some Eccentricities of Our Folks

WHEN it was written, "Love your neighbor as yourself," the Scriptural injunction did not define the obligations of love. Love is kind; love is cruel; love is selfish; love is anything and everything according to the conception of the individual in his attitude toward the recipient of his affections. Saith another eminent hero in history, "Not that I loved Caesar less but Rome more." Still a more recent interpreter of heart pulsations is our own Chief Executive who has experienced apprehension lest we break the heart of the world.

Moralists and idealists of late are invoking the Golden Rule in the affairs of the world; yet as Pope has expressed it in his translation of Homer's "Odyssey," "We love too much: hate in the like extreme." Further saith Shakespeare, in "Troilus and Cressida," "To be wise, and love, exceeds man's might; that dwells with gods above." Love interjected into international affairs, as in domestic relations, runs counter to diplomacy and the pocketbook of the world. All of which is apropos of what?

A certain polyglot American whose blood, according to his own admission, is transplanted from three races, Irish, Scotch and German, "hates England." Two of his sons fought with the A. E. F. in France, one receiving the medal of Congress and the D. S. C. of France, and other medals. Yet his American father in open conversation predicts the next war between U. S. and England, with Germany on our side. What contradictions we house beneath the flag of freedom! Our American friend is sincere. "I've not forgotten our history—I learned it well in my youth," he declares. Some of our honest-to-goodness native-born Americans need the light of Americanism injected into their brains. Nobody wants him to "love" England, or hate anybody internationally, yet he is not an isolated example of the complexities of our polyglot American. It may take another hundred or so years to develop an 80-per cent

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American people, but let's not build it on hate, love, but enlightened loyalty to principles of a free and tolerant nationality, which lives in peace with the world and in security at home.

Movies Set to Fiction

THE worst of the movies is not the Movies.

Whatever indictment may be brought in, the movie will continue to be. There are good movies and foolish movies; movies with a moral and without; movies that are almost convincing and movies that are episodical absurdities. But this is not a sermon on movies. In the trail of the movie comes movie "literature." Did you ever read a *storied* movie drama? We have heard of the lament: "Oh, dear, if the movies could only talk!" They do—in the movie magazine. Lo the poor author! What a task to fictionize a movie. The productions of the movie-set-to-fiction author recall the dynamics of Nick Carter, the Penny Awful, and the lurid Dime Novel of other days, except that the movie fictionizer has not attained the literary skill of the incognito author of the secretly read Nicks and Bertha Clays. Embryo fictionists who haven't learned their scales are offered a field of practice in the movie-set-to-fiction market. There are no literary standards to impede the free exercise of the imagination. The screen dramatis personae are silent and any latitude of ingenuity is permissible. Making them talk is the thing—a "stunt" in literary ventriloquism. Nick Carter and Bertha Clay and the English "tuppennies" and the Family Library may be perused with profit by aspirants of movies-set-to-fiction authors in embryo. Let us not lament. Perhaps movie-fiction will stimulate its votaries to read something else later on.

Making the People Over

DR. WILBUR F. CRAFTS is in the business of "reforming" the world. He wants the reforming business "endowed," with permanent headquarters co-operating with a training school to turn out professional reform-

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ers; to standardize reform literature. He even wants to reform the churches. He wants the 18th Amendment to apply to American citizens traveling in foreign countries. He wants people to stay married, or, if divorce is granted, a standardized law for every State. Dr. Crafts is an enemy of cigarettes, gambling, and desires movie censorship. He wants the world shut down tight on Sunday and the Ten Commandments posted up in schools, churches, and court houses. Dr. Crafts is seventy years old, and still going.

Who Is the Middleman?

WE have heard a great deal about "the middleman" in these days of "passing the buck" on the responsibility of the high cost of everything. The Flying Squad of the Department of Justice, as well as the Senate Investigating committees, have been on the trail of the villain in the drama. The Senate discovered that a cement factory with a capital of $1,000,000 made a profit of $348,000 or 34 per cent; that a contractor employing a capital of $150,000 made a profit of $85,000, or 57 per cent, and so on, *ad lib*. The Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics also discovered that the average wage-increases in nine building trades have been around 50 per cent and the average advance in price of building materials over 200 per cent. The Flying Squad learned that profiteering in necessities of life ran from 50 to 150 per cent. The farmer and the live-stock grower also have come in for an increase of something like 100 per cent. In fact everybody in business is "on the job." All are boosting prices upward. The Post Office Department has made efforts to carry everything by mail—babies only excluded. The idea being, direct from the "producer" to the "consumer"; eggs from the hennery to the breakfast table; fresh corn from the patch to the kettle. Even the artist craft is infected with a movement, inspired by paid labor delegates, to compel the engravers' craft not to make plates unless the purchaser gives an affidavit that the art work was sold direct.

It's a game of first catch the "middleman." In a broad sense the middleman is a salesman. Now a salesman,

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whether working on wages, or commission, or on speculative profit, has to be paid. He is the man who saves to the producer the time, energy and skill which otherwise would be utilized in selling his own product and hence slowing up production. He is the functionary who saves the ultimate buyer time for manufacturing that would otherwise be spent in canvassing for his raw material. The middleman is a bridge between raw material and consumer. Sometimes he is a salesman, sometimes he is transportation, sometimes he is a display counter on the line of traffic. Sometimes he is a speculator, but always he is a price maker. He is the shuttle and the market maker.

In the cycle of product he is often several functions. He may be the mill, he may be the brick-maker, the furniture maker, the tea taster, the expert accountant, the lawyer, the banker. He is any one and all the cogs between nature and consumption of product. Each one of him performs a part in the force of fabrication, transportation, or economics. Each is essential. All are middlemen. We are middlemen in the processes of human activities harnessing the forces of the universe to sustain and beautify life.

Getting After Rent Profiteers

THE City Fathers of Detroit have thrown a wrench into the machinery of the Rent Profiteers, which other ambitious office-holders who seek to serve their constituencies might copy. Landlords who took advantage of helpless tenants and lifted rentals were promptly notified by the City Council that the assessed valuation of their property had been proportionately increased. In one case the assessed valuation was increased from $28,758 to $48,000, and other property was increased from $20,320 to $38,000. The owners of an apartment building were notified that they would be expected to pay taxes on a valuation of $185,600 where the former valuation was $110,600; and $90,000 where the former valuation was $50,200. Another owner was notified of a one-hundred per cent increase.

Greedy landlords who are thus given a lesson will find that the wheels of Justice that grind slowly are hard to

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reverse, when they seek a revision downward of the valuation of their properties.

Policeman of Patriotism Needed

WHEN the effusions of "radical" writers are found in the effects of anarchists, it is presumable that the fires of red minds are thus fed. Fervid minds that see only flaws in government based upon law and order, and would destroy government and property and the lives of others, belong in mad-houses, or at the least in psychopathical laboratories. The concussion of war on weak minds is inevitable. Petty crime is running the gamut of its outbreakings in the congested centers of population. Hold-ups, thievery and fraud are the lesser evils that local treatment will alleviate, but open anarchy of the Berkman-Goldman type cannot be cured by licensing so-called "free speech."

Free speech is a precious heritage and the right to organize equally so, but the motive should be a part of the text or the constitution in both cases. The exploitation of the right to organize for unpatriotic purposes has no place in our bill of rights. While civilization must go forward under the impulses of agitation and advanced thought, it will not go forward through the fulminations of diseased, illogical and illy educated mentalities, wielding the pen or the bomb. Both are equally the inspiration of those who would profit by evil or seek evil deeds as the expression of evil and unbalanced brains. Every American, with the love of country in his heart, may constitute himself a policeman of patriotism and a force to compel sane action in endeavors to bring about progress, or change, whether in industrialism, politics, or social order.

Correction—It Was Not Detroit

IN the July issue of THE FORUM, in an article, "Fair Play for The Foreign-Born," by Arthur Woods, former Police Commissioner of New York City, and now chairman of The American Legion, reference

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was made to an incident wherein members of The American Legion took certain drastic methods to combat the efforts of the revolutionists in Detroit. Mr. Woods informs THE FORUM that it has been found that the city referred to was not Detroit, and THE FORUM takes pleasure in calling the attention of its readers to the unintentional mistake.

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